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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀNAS

By

R. C. HAZRA, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.

Professor of Smṛti and Purāṇa,

*Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research,
Sanskrit College, Calcutta.*

VOL. I

(SAURA AND VAIṢṆAVA UPAPURĀNAS)



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FOREWORD

The Government of West Bengal started the Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in 1951, and made arrangements for the publication of a half-yearly bulletin entitled "Our Heritage" embodying the contributions made by its members. Last year the Government decided to undertake the publication of a series of Texts and Studies. The present work, Studies in the Upapuranas, the first in the Studies Series, is from the pen of Dr. R. C. Hazra, Professor of Smṛti and Purāṇa at this College. The work is expected to consist of four more volumes of equal length, and will cover the entire Upapurāṇa literature, about which very little was known to scholars. The value and importance of the Purāṇa literature for the study of social, religious and even political history of ancient and mediaeval India have been widely felt and recognised by all Indologists. In the present volume, Dr. Hazra deals with the Saura and Vaisnava Upapurāṇas examining fully the various problems connected with the individual texts, and also giving analysis of their contents. I have reasons to believe that this and the other volumes to be published subsequently will remove a long-felt want and bring out the manifold interest of an important but much neglected branch of Sanskrit literature.

GAURINATH SASTRI
General Editor.

PREFACE

It is a long-standing, but erroneous, belief of wide popularity that the Upapurāṇas are 'later and inferior works' and scarcely deserve any serious attention. My chief object in the present work has been to point out to the scholarly world that the Upapurāṇas are rich as much in number as in content, that some of them are much earlier than many of the so-called Mahāpurāṇas, and that, like the extant Mahāpurāṇas, they are of capital importance not only for the study of the social and religious institutions of the Hindus from the pre-Gupta period downward but also for varied information of literary, historical, geographical and cultural interest. I have, therefore, taken pains to analyse briefly the contents of those Upapurāṇas which have been available to me either in printed forms or in manuscripts and to furnish as much useful and interesting information as possible on these points. I could not overlook the fact that it is by no means easy for many ardent and inquisitive students of ancient Indian history and culture to get access to the printed editions or manuscripts of the different Upapurāṇas, which are often very difficult to procure, or to go conveniently and profitably through these mostly extensive works written in Sanskrit. Feeling that without any idea of the period of origin and development of a work, especially of the Purāṇa literature, it is neither possible nor safe to enter into a critical and scientific study of its contents, I have tried to determine the approximate dates of the individual Upapurāṇas, or parts thereof, by thoroughly utilising all such materials, including those contained in the works themselves, as have been found helpful in determining their relative and absolute chronology. I have also taken full notice of the references and quotations from these works in the Smṛti commentaries, Nibandhas, etc. But in the case of those Upapurāṇas which have been drawn upon profusely by the comparatively early Nibandha-writers, the quotations made from them in the later Nibandhas have generally been overlooked. Those references and quotations, however, which I have been able to trace in the respective Upapurāṇas, will be enlisted in Appendix I at the end of the final volume. As regards the lost Upapurāṇas,

I have tried to give as much information as possible about their contents, dates and provenance, on the basis of the references and quotations contained in the Nibandhas and other works, Sanskrit or otherwise. I should mention in this connection that in examining the different Upapurāṇas I have found some (viz., Devī-purāṇa, Kṛiā-yogasāra, Kālikā-purāṇa, Mahābhāgavata, Dharma-purāṇa, Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa, etc.) which contain highly valuable materials for the reconstruction of the social and religious history of Eastern India, especially of Bengal and Kāmarūpa.

As the Purāṇa literature consists of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas as well as of the numerous Upapurāṇas, a complete idea of this vast literature is not possible without the study of both these classes of writings. My present work, therefore, has been devoted exclusively to the latter class of books, my previous one entitled 'Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs' being concerned with the Mahāpurāṇas only. I should point out here that in the present volume as well as in the others to be published subsequently I have collected materials which support my views, set forth in the second part of my Purāṇic Records, regarding the different stages in the development of the Hindu rites and customs.

In writing these volumes I have utilised the works of various modern authors in different connections, but I am specially indebted to the veteran scholar Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P.V. Kane, M.A., LL. M., D. Litt., whose monumental work, viz., History of Dharmaśāstra, has been a great source of inspiration to me and encouraged me to take up a vast subject for critical study. As regards the dates of the Smṛti works, I have followed Mm. Dr. Kane's conclusions almost invariably.

I feel much hesitation in treading upon a field which is almost untrodden, in writing upon a subject on which very little has been written; but I leave my work, which has extended over a number of years, to speak for itself. I venture, however, to claim that my efforts will add to the knowledge of the much neglected subject and bring out its many-sided importance. I have tried to confine myself, from direct reading, strictly to available facts and avoid vague or sweeping generalisations, always bearing in mind that the chains of historical

research can never be forged without the links supplied by individual facts.

For reasons stated in the Preface to my Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs and for the sake of uniformity I have used, in a few cases, the Vangavāsī Press (Calcutta) editions of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, printed in Bengali characters, in preference to the more widely used Devanāgarī editions, but in doing so I have always taken particular care to give full references to, or add comparative notes on, the different editions of these works, so that scholars may not find any difficulty in tracing the references in the South Indian and other Devanāgarī editions.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to the Board of Editors of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series for accepting the present work for publication and also to our principal Dr. Gaurinath Sastri for recommending it to the Board.

Certain portions of this work were published as isolated articles in different oriental journals. But I have spared no pains to improve considerably upon these published portions with fresh materials collected by more recent studies.

Calcutta
March, 1958

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

ABBREVIATIONS

Adyar Library Cat. = A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the
Adyar Library (Madras).

AnSS = Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona).

ASB = Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).

As. Soc. = Asiatic Society.

Aufrecht, Bod. Cat. = Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*.

Benares Sans. College Cat. = Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts
in the Sanskrit College Library, Benares.

Bhāg. = Bhāgavata-purāṇa.

Bhandarkar, Report = R. G. Bhandarkar, Report on the Search for
Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the
years 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, and 1890-91.

Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc. = R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism
and Minor Religious Systems*.

Bhav. = Bhaviṣya-purāṇa.

Bibl. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta).

Bnār. = Brhannāradiya-purāṇa.

Bod. Cat. — See 'Aufrecht, Bod. Cat'.

Brhaddh. = Brhaddharma-purāṇa.

B. S. = Bengali Samvat.

Buhler, Report = G. Bühler, Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of
Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana and
Central India.

Burnell, Classified Index = A. C. Burnell, A Classified Index to the
Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore.

Bv = Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa.

Cal. Sans. Coll. = Calcutta Sanskrit College (1, Bankim Chatterji
Street, Calcutta).

Cat. = Catalogue.

Chakravartī, Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat. = Chintaharan Chakravartī,
A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the
Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat (Calcutta).

Chap., chaps. = Chapter, chapters.

Com. = Commentary.

Dacca Univ. = Dacca University.

Dbh = Devī-bhāgavata.

Ed. = Edition (or, Edited by, as the case may be).

Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat. (or, India Office Catalogue) = Julius Eggeling,
A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the
Library of the India Office (London).

Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.

Farquhar, Outline = J. N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious
Literature of India.

Fol., fols. = Folio, folios.

Gaṇ. = Gaṇeśa-purāṇa.

Gd = Garuḍa-purāṇa.

Hazra, Purāṇic Records = R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Purāṇic Records
on Hindu Rites and Customs.

Hiralal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss in the Central Provinces and
Berar = Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts
in the Central Provinces and Berar.

IHQ = Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta).

Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.

Ind. Off. = India Office (London).

Ind. Off. Cat. — See 'Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat'.

JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Keith, Ind. Off. Cat. = A. B. Keith, Catalogue of the Sanskrit and
Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office
(London).

-kḷi. (as in Śṛṣṭi-kḷi., Bhūmī-kḷi., etc.) = -khaṇḍa.

Kūr. = Kūrma-purāṇa.

Lg = Liṅga-purāṇa.

List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss = List of Sanskrit, Jaina and Hindi
Manuscripts purchased by order of Government and deposited
in the Sanskrit College, Benares, during 1897, 1898, 1899,
1900 and 1901.

- Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature = A. A. Macdodell, A History of Sanskrit Literature.
- Mārka. = Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.
- Mat. = Matsya-purāṇa.
- Mbh = Mahābhārata.
- Mitra, Bikaner Cat. = R. L. Mitra, A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Bikaner.
- Mitra, Notices = R. L. Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit Mss.
- M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat. = M. Rangacharya, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
- Ms, Mss = Manuscript, Manuscripts.
- Nar. = Narasiṃha-purāṇa.
- P., pp. = Page, pages.
- p. (as in Matsya-p., Kūrma-p. etc.) = -purāṇa.
- Poleman, Census of Indic Mss = H. I. Poleman, A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.
- P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat. = P. P. S. Sastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore.
- Pd = Padma-purāṇa
- Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat. = Hrishikeśa Shastri and Śivacandra Gui, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.
- Sastri and Sastri, Madras Cat. = S. Kuppuswami Sastri and P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
- Shastri, ASB Cat. = Haraprasad Shastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
- Shastri, Nepal Cat. = Haraprasad Shastri, A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal.
- Shastri, Notices = Haraprasad Shastri, Notices of Sanskrit Mss, Second Series.

Śiv. = Śiva-purāṇa.

Sk = Skanda-purāṇa.

Stein, Jammu Cat. = M. A. Stein, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunātha Temple Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Univ. = University.

Vaṅga. = Vaṅgavāsī Press (Calcutta).

Var. = Varāha-purāṇa.

Veṅkat. = Venkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay).

Vis. = Viṣṇu-purāṇa.

Viṣṇudh. = Viṣṇudharmottara.

Weber, Berlin Cat. = A. Weber, Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prakrit-Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin.

Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853 = A. Weber, Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königl. Bibliothek, Vol. I (Verzeichniss der Sanskrit Handschriften). Berlin, 1853.

Winternitz, Cat. of South Indian Sans. Mss = M. Winternitz, A Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts (especially those of the Whish Collection) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Yāj = Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀṆAS
VOL. I

CHAPTER I

THE UPAPURĀNA LITERATURE—ITS EXTENT, ANTIQUITY AND ORIGIN

In these days when all Indologists are feeling the want of a true history of Indian life and thought of the past and our able antiquarians are directing their attention and energy towards its reconstruction, it is a matter of great surprise and disappointment that very little is known and still less has yet been said about those valuable records of Indian life and thought which are known as Upapurāṇas (or secondary Purāṇas¹). The whole responsibility for such apathy of scholars towards these valued treasures must be laid on the high importance

1 The work done by scholars on the Upapurāṇas is very meagre and scarcely deserves any serious mention. H. H. Wilson, who, in his *Essays Analytical, Critical and Philological*, and in the Preface to his translation of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, says much on the Purāṇas, devotes only about five pages to the Upapurāṇas (see Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Preface, pp lxxxvi-xci), Haraprasad Shastri's treatment of some of the Upapurāṇas in the Preface (pp cc-ccxv) to his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol V (Purāṇa Manuscripts), is no better than mere cataloguing; M Winternitz devotes on the whole about seven pages to the treatment of only a very few of the Upapurāṇas in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, J N. Farquhar gives, in his *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, very short and scrappy information about a few Upapurāṇas only, the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol I spares only about half a page for the treatment of these works, the Bengali encyclopaedia *Viśvakosa*, which devotes as many as 165 pages to the principal Purāṇas, deals with the Upapurāṇas in 3 columns only (see *Viśvakosa*, Vol. II, pp 419-420), A. A. Macdonell finishes his treatment of the Upapurāṇas in four lines only, without mentioning even a single name (see Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 302), and the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Vol. X, p 455) has fourteen lines devoted to the Upapurāṇas. Besides these there are the Notices and the Catalogues of Sanskrit Mss, especially those of R. L. Mitra, J Eggeling and Th. Aufrecht, as well as about a dozen isolated articles (except those of the present writer) on only a few of the Upapurāṇas. This is practically the whole work that has been done on the Upapurāṇas up to the present time.

which has been attached, deservedly or undeservedly, for hundreds of years to the eighteen 'great' (Mahat) Purānas² as well as on the disparaging prefix 'upa' attached to the common title (Purāna) to characterise those Purāṇic works which are different from the 'great eighteen'. Whatever the reason may be, we should not, with our critical outlook befitting the present age and its culture, be swayed by mere tradition and baseless impression but be ready to give due consideration to this long neglected branch of Sanskrit literature.

Following the tradition of the Mahāpurānas, orthodox opinion tries to limit the number of the Upapurānas rigidly to 'eighteen'³ even in those cases where the promulgators of such opinion are fully conscious of the existence of a larger number;⁴ but while in the enumerations

2 Though the name 'Mahāpurāṇa' for the 'eighteen' principal 'Purānas' is of very late origin, being found only in Bhāg XII 7. 10 and 22 and Bv IV. 131. 7 and 10, it has now become very popular and is universally used for the older name 'Purāna'

3 See Pd, Pātāla-khanda 111. 94b-98, Kūr. I 1 16-20, Sk V. 111 (Revā-khanda). 1. 46-52; Sk VII. 1. 2. 11-15; Śiva-māhātmya-khanda (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p) 1. 13b-18 (for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378), Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382); Revā-māhātmya (which claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p and is very much the same as the Revā-khanda occurring in Sk V; see Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65, Nos. 114-116), Dbh I 3. 13-16; Gd I. 223. 17-20 (=)ivānanda's edition I. 215 17-20 = Vangavāsī edition I 27 17-20), Brhaddh I 25 18-19 and 23-26; Parāśara-upapurāna 1. 28-31 (for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230), Gan. I. 1. 8, Bhāg XII 7 22; Bv IV. 131. 22; Ekāmra-p. 1. 20b-23; Vindhya-māhātmya, chap. 4 (ASB Ms No 8091, fol 8a), Vārunopapurāna, chap 1 (Sastri and Sastri, Madras Cat., XXVII, p 1033), Bhakti-ratnākara of Gopāla-dāsa (Mitra, Notices, IX, No 2918, p. 32).

For the lists of eighteen Upapurānas contained in verses quoted from the 'Kūrma-p', 'Brahmavaivarta-p' etc., also see Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 19, Smṛti-tattva, I, pp 792-3, Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśī, pp 13-15, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I (Dāna-khanda), pp. 532-3 and II (Vrata khanda). i, p. 21, and Prasthāna-bheda, p. 10

Mat. 53. 59-62 mention only four Upapurānas, viz., Nārasimha, Nandī-purāna, Sāmba and Āditya, and seem to be ignorant of the group of 'eighteen'.

4 For example, after expressly mentioning that the Upapurānas are

of the Purāṇas there is almost complete agreement with regard to the titles,⁵ this is by no means the case with the titles of the Upapurāṇas. In order to acquaint ourselves with the nature of the disagreement we give below a number of lists of 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas which we have been able to collect from different sources.

'eighteen' in number and then giving the titles of the 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas, the Brhaddharma-p (I. 25-27) says:

anyāś ca samhitāḥ sarvā mārīca-kāpilādayah/

sarvatra dharma-kathane tulya-sāmarthyam ucyate//,

thus intimating its knowledge not only of the Mārīca and Kāpila Upapurāṇas but also of others which were considered as much authoritative as the famous 'eighteen'. (Note the word 'ādayah' in 'mārīca-kāpilādayah')

5 In some of the lists of 'eighteen' principal Purāṇas the title 'Śiva' or 'Śaiva' is found in place of 'Vāyaviya'. See, for instance, Vis III 6 21ff, Bhāg. XII 7 23ff and XII 13, 4ff, Kūr. I. 1. 13ff, Pd I. 62. 2ff, IV 111. 90ff, VI 219 25ff, and VI 263 77ff, Var 112 69ff., Mārka 137. 8ff. (=Venkat. edition 134 8ff), Lg I. 39 61ff, Śiv V (Vāyaviya-samhitā) 1. 1 38ff, Śiva-māhātmya-khanda (of the Sūta-samhitā of the Skanda-p) 1. 7-10 (for which see also Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat, VI, p. 1377), Saura-samhitā of the Skanda-p (Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat, VI, p. 1382), Sambhava-kānda of the Śiva-rahasya-khanda of the Śaṅkara-samhitā of the Skanda-p. (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat, VI, p. 1363), and so on

Dacca Univ Mss (Nos 319, 4196 and 4649) of the Brhaddharma-p. (I 25) give the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas thus Brahma-p, Pādma, Brahmānda, Vaisnava, Brahmavaivarta, Mahābhāgavata, Bhaviṣya, Gāruda, Laṅga, Śaiva, Vārāha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Skānda, Kaurma, Matsya-p., Āgneya, Vāyavya and Śrībhāgavata. (It is to be noted that this list omits the Vāmana and the Nāradiya and names the Mahābhāgavata and the Śaiva in their stead).

The ASB edition of the Brhaddharma-p (I 25-20-22) mentions the Mahābhāgavata but omits the name of the Śrībhāgavata, the number of Purāṇas named in it being thus seventeen. But the Vanga edition, which mentions the Śrībhāgavata, wrongly replaces the Mahābhāgavata by the 'Nṛsimha', which is reckoned again in a subsequent verse as one of the eighteen Upapurāṇas.

In the verses of a 'Kālīkā-p'. quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 531, the 'Śaiva', Kālīkā (for Bhāgavata), Saura and Vahniya (i.e. the genuine Āgneya-p passing under the title 'Vahni-purāṇa') are included among the eighteen principal Purāṇas

I. Kūrma-p. I. 1. 17-20—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Skānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Śivadharmā, declared by Nandiśa in person; 5. Durvāsasokta, (called Āścarya?); 6. Nāradya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Vāmana, 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmānda; 11. Vārūna; 12. Kālikā, 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. Parāśarokta; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.⁶

II. Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, p. 19) of Nārasimha Vājaṇṇeyin (who gives the following list of 'eighteen' Upapurānas on the authority of the 'Kūrma-p.')—

1. Sanatkumārīya; 2. Nārasimha, 3. Nandīpurāṇa; 4. Śivadharmā; 5. Durvāsah-purāṇa; 6. Nāradya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Vāmana; 9. Auśanasa; 10. Brahmānda; 11. Vārūna, 12. Kālikā, 13. Māheśvara, 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura; 16. Parāśarokta; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

III. 'Kaurma' (i. e. Kūrma-p.) quoted in Raghunandana's Malāmāsa-tattva⁷—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra, 2. Nārasimha; 3. Vāyavīya, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Śivadharmā,

6 ādyam sanatkumāroktam nārasimham atah param/
trtiyam skāndam uddistam kumārena tu bhāṣitam//
caturtham śivadharmākhyam sāksān-nandiśa-bhāṣitam/
durvāsasoktam āścaryam nāradyam atah param//
kāpilam vāmanam caiva tathaiṣośanaseritam/
brahmāndam vārūnam caiva kālikāhvayam eva ca//
māheśvaram tathā sāmbam sauram sarvārtha-samcayam/
parāśaroktam mārīcam tathaiṣa bhārgavāhvayam//

(Kūr. I. 1. 17-20).

These verses occur in the Venkat and ASB editions of the Kūrma-p without any difference in readings, but in the former edition there is the alternative reading 'aparam mārīcam' for 'mārīcam tathaiṣa' in the last line.

7 See Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3—

kaurme—anyāny upapurānāni munibhiḥ kathitāny api/
tāni ca nārasimha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purānādini, yathā—
ādyam sanatkumāroktam nārasimham tataḥ param/ etc.

declared by Nandīśa in person, 5 Durvāśasokta, (called Āścarya?—durvāśasoktam āścaryam), 6. Nārādīya, 7-8. Nandikeśvara-yugma, 9 Uśanaserita; 10. Kāpila, 11. Vāruṇa, 12. Kālikā, 13. Māheśvara; 14 Śāmba; 15. Daiva, which yields success in all the ends of life; 16. Another (work) spoken out by Parāśara^a; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhāskara

IV 'Kūrma Mahāpurāṇa' (i.e. Kūrma-p.) quoted in Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, pp. 13-14—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra, 2. Nārasimha, 3. Nānda, spoken out by Kumāra, 4. Śivadharmā, declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvāśasokta (called Āścarya?—durvāśasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nārādīya; 7. Kāpila, 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa, 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā, 13. Māheśvara; 14. Śāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. Another (work) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktam aparam), 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

V. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 532-3—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nānda, spoken out by Kumāra (v. l. 'nāradam' for 'nāndam'); 4. Śivadharmā, declared by Nandīśa in person, 5. Durvāśasokta (called Āścarya?—durvāśasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāra-

Raghunandana reads 'daivam sarvārtha-siddhidam' and 'parāśaroktam aparam' for 'sauram sarvārtha-samcayam' and 'parāśaroktam mārīcam' respectively of the Kūrma-p. (for which see the immediately preceding foot-note).

The verses of the Kūrma-p, as given in the Vanga. edition (pp. 264-5) and Candicarana Smṛtibhūṣana's edition (pp 212-3) of the Malamāsa-tattva, reads 'śāmbani' for 'cātha' (in the line 'kāpīlam vārunam cātha'), and 'pādmam' for 'śāmbam' (in the line 'māheśvaram tathā śāmbam etc'). As these readings make the number of the Upapurānas nineteen, they should be rejected

8 Thus the Parāśara-upapurāna seems to be distinguished from the Viṣṇu-p. or the spurious 'Vaiṣṇava' (mentioned by Vallālasena in his Dānasāgara, p. 7, verse 63), which was spoken out by Parāśara.

doḥta; 7. Kāpila; 8 Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita, 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Śāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life, 16. The highly excellent (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktaṃ pravaram), 17-18 Bhāgavata-dvaya (bhāgavatam dvayam).

VI 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga cintāmaṇi, II. 1, p. 21—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nānda, spoken out by Kumāra, 4. Śivadharmā, declared by Nandīśa in person (i.e. 'nandikeśvara-yugmaṃ' for 'śivadharmākhyam'); 5. Durvāsasokta (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6 Nāradoḥta; 7. Kāpila, 8. Mānava (i.e. 'māṇicam' for 'mānavam'); 9. Uśanaserita, 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa, 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Śāmba, 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. The foremost (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśroktam prathamam), 17-18. Bhāgavata-dvaya.

VII. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in the Śabda-kalpadruma (under 'Upapurāṇa')⁹—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Vāyavīya, spoken out by Kumāra (kumāreṇānubhāṣitam); 4. Śivadharmā, declared by Nandīśa in person, 5. Durvāsasokta (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam), 6. Nāradoḥta; 7. Nandikeśvara-yugma; 8. Uśanaserita; 9. Kāpila, 10. Vāruṇa, 11. Śāmba, 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara, 14. Pādma, 15. Daiva, which accomplishes all the ends of life (daivam).

⁹ It is to be noted that although the verses of the Kūrma-p. quoted in the Śabda-kalpadruma agree almost literally with the verses of the 'Kaurma' quoted in the Vaṅga ed (pp. 264-5) and Candicarana Smṛtibhūṣana's ed (pp 212-3) of the Malamāsa tattva of Raghunandanī, the mention of the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' and the 'Pādma' (occupying the seventh and the fourteenth place respectively in the list) makes the number of the Upapurāṇas nineteen. If the two Nandikeśvara-purāṇas are taken to form one Upapurāṇa, then, of course, the number becomes eighteen.

sarvārtha-sādhakam), 16. Another (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktam aparam); 17. Mārīca, 18. Bhāskara.

VIII. Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-purāṇa—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra, 2. Nārasimha; 3. Skānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Śivadharmā, declared by Nandin, 5. Durvāsa-samprokta; 6. Nāradiya; 7. Kāpila, 8. Mānava, 9. Uśanaserita, 10. The sacred Brahmānda; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālī-purāṇa, also called Kālakantha; 13. Vāsiṣṭha-linga, also called Māheśvara, 14. Sāmbapurāṇa, also called Susūksma, 15. Saura-purāṇa, also called Sāvitra, 16. Pārāśarya, 17. Mārīca, 18. Bhārgava.¹⁰

IX. Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). 1. 46-52¹¹—

1. Saura, a Śaiva work consisting of two Śaṃhitās spoken out respectively by Sanatkumāra and Sūrya and being widely known under the name of Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha, belonging to the Padma-p.; 3. Śaukeya, belonging to the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, 4. Bārhaspatya, belonging to the Vāyavya (Purāṇa); 5. Daurvāsasa, belonging to the Bhāgavata; 6. Nāradoḥta, belonging to the Bhaviṣya, 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmānda; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālīkā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life, 16. Pārāśara; 17. Bhāgavata; 18. Kaurma.

10 ādyam sanatkumāroktam nārasimham tataḥ param/
trtīyam skāndam uddiṣṭam kumārena tu bhāsitam//
caturtham śivadharmākhyam purāṇam nandinēritam/
tato durvāsa-samproktam nāradiyam tataḥ param//
kāpilam mānavam caiva tathaiśanaseritam/
brahmāndam ca tataḥ punyam vārunākhyam tataḥ param//
tataḥ kālipurāṇākhyam kālakantham ca nāmataḥ/
tato vāsiṣṭhalīṅgākhyam nāmnā māheśvaram tv itī//
tataḥ sām̐bapurāṇākhyam susūksmam itī ceritam/
tataḥ saurapurāṇākhyam sāvitrām itī ceritam//
pārāśaryam ca mārīcam bhārgavam muni-puṃgavāḥ//

Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382

11 These verses, as given in the Vanga, ed. of the Skanda-p., have no variation in readings.

X. Revā-māhātmya which, though much the same as the Revā-khanda of the Skanda-p., claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p.—

1. Saura, which forms an excellent supplement (khila) to the Brahma-p., deals with topics on Śiva, consists of two Samhitās spoken out respectively by Sanatkumāra and Sūrya, and is widely known under the name of Sanatkumāra also;
2. Nārasimha, belonging to the Padma-p; 3 Nandā-purāna, belonging to the 'Vaisnava', 4. Śivadharmā, belonging to the Vāyu-p, 5 Daurvāsas, belonging to the Bhāgavata; 6 Nāradoḥta, belonging to the Bhaviṣya; 7 Kāpila, 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita, 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vārūna; 12. Kālikā, 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba, 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. Pārāśara; 17. Bhāgavata, 18. Kaurma¹².

XI Skanda-p. VII (Prabhāsa-khanda) 1. 2. 11-15¹³—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha, 3. Skānda (v.l. 'nāndam' both in the Vanga. and Venkaṭ. editions of the Skanda-p.), spoken out by Kumāra (kumāreṇānu-bhāṣitam), 3. Śivadharmā, declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Daurvāsasokta, (called Āścaryā? — dāurvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradoḥta; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava, 9. Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11. Vārūna; 12. Another Kālikā (anyat kālikā-

12 idam brahmapurāṇasya khilam sauram anuṣṭamam/
 samhitā-dvaya-samnyuktam puṇyam śiva kathāśrayam//
 ādyā sanatkumāroktā dvitīyā sūrya-bhāṣitā/
 sanatkumāra nāmnā 'pi tad vikhyātam mahāmune//
 dvitīyam nārasimham ca purāṇe padma-samjñite/
 nandāpurāṇam ca tathā tṛtīyam vaisnave matam//
 caturtham śivadharmākhyam purāṇe vāyu-samjñite/
 dāurvāsasam pañcanam ca smṛtam bhāgavate sadā//
 bhaviṣye nāradoḥtam ca sūribhiru kathitam purā/
 kāpilam mānavam caiva tathā uśanaseritam//
 brahmāṇḍam vārūnam cātha kālikābhāṣyam eva ca/
 māheśvaram tathā sāmham sauram sarvārtha-sameyam//
 pārāśaram bhāgavatam kaurma(m) cāstādaśam kṛṇiāt//

Aufrecht, Bod Cat, p 65

13 These verses, as occurring in the Vanga. ed of the Skanda-p, have no difference in readings.

hvayam); 13. Māheśvara, 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. The excellent (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktaṃ paramam); 17. Mārīca; 18 Bhārgava.

XII. Śiva-māhātmya-khanda (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.)

1. 13b-18¹⁴—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra (sanatkumārena proktam), 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nānda, 4. Śivadharmā; 5. Daurvāsa; 6. Nāradya; 7. Kāpila, 8 Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita, 10. Brahmānda; 11 Vārūna, 12. The eminent (viśistam) Kālī-purāṇa; 13 Vāsistha-linga, also called Māheśvara; 14. Sāmbapurāṇa, 15. Saura, an extremely wonderful work (sauram mahādbhutam), 16. Pārāśara, 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava, that accomplishes Dharma and Artha in their entirety (sarva-dharmārtha-sādhakam).

XIII. Garuda-p. I. 223 17-20¹⁵—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra, 2. Nārasimha; 3. Skānda, spoken out by Kumāra, 4. Śivadharmā, declared by Nandīśvara (nandīśvara-bhāsitam); 5. Durvāsasokta, (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradoḥta, 7. Kāpila; 8. Vāmana, 9. Uśanaserita; 10 Brahmānda, 11. Vārūna; 12. Kālīkā, 13. Māheśvara; 14 Sāmba, [15 Saura] ; 16. Another (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktam aparam), 17. Mārīca, 18. Bhārgava.

14 For these verses see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378 (v 1 'vāsistha-lingākhyam' for 'vāsistha-lingākhyam' in verse 17a)

15 For these verses see also Jivānanda's ed I. 215 17-20 and Vanga ed. I. 227 17-20

Note that with the reading 'evam sarvārtha-samcayam' (in verse 20a—māheśvaram tathā sāmham evam sarvārtha-samcayam) the number of the Upapurāṇas becomes seventeen, and not eighteen. So, we should read 'sauram sarvārtha-samcayam' for 'evam sarvārtha-samcayam'. For the reading 'sauram sarvārtha-samcayam' see Kūr I 1. 20a, Sk V 111 (Revā-khanda) 1 51b and VII. 1 2 14a, and so on. See also the other lists mentioning the Saura-p.

XIV. Padma-p., Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 111. 94b-98—

1. Ādya, named Sanatkumāra (ādyam sanatkumārākhyam);
2. Nārasimha; 3. Āṇḍa (Skānda?); 4. Durvāsasa (? Daurvāsasa); 5. Another Nāradiya (nāradiyam athānyam ca, v l athānyac ca); 6. Kāpila; 7. Mānava; 8. Auśanasa-prokta;
9. Another Brahmāṇḍa (brahmāṇḍam ca tathāparam);
10. Vāruṇa; 11. Kālikā; 12. Māheśa; 13. Sām̐ba, 14. Saura,
15. Pārāśara; 16. Mārīca; 17. Bhārgava; 18. Kaumāra.

XV. Devī-bhāgavata I. 3 13-16—

1. Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nāradiya; 4. Śiva;
5. The excellent (anuttamam) Daurvāsasa; 6. Kāpila;
7. Mānava; 8. Auśanasa; 9. Vāruṇa; 10. Kālikā; 11. Sām̐ba;
12. Nandi-kṛta; 13. Saura; 14. Pārāśara-prokta; 15. The highly extensive (atvistaram) Āditya; 16. Māheśvara;
17. Bhāgavata; 18. The extensive (savistaram) Vāsiṣṭha.

XVI. Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 25. 23-26—

1. Ādipurāṇa; 2. Āditya; 3. Bṛhannāradiya; 4. Nāradiya;
5. Nandiśvara-purāṇa;¹⁶ 6. Bṛhannandiśvara; 7. Sām̐ba;
8. Kriyāyogasāra; 9. Kālikā, 10. Dharmapurāṇa; 11. Viṣṇu-
- dharmottara, 12. Śivadharmā; 13. Viṣṇudharma; 14. Vāmana,
15. Vāruṇa; 16. Nārasimha; 17. Bhārgava; 18. The excellent (uttamam) Bṛhaddharma.

XVII. Parāśara-upapurāṇa 1. 28-31—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nānda;
4. Śivadharmā; 5. Daurvāsa; 6. Nāradiyaka, 7. Kāpila,
8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita, 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa;

¹⁶ This Upapurāṇa, which occupies the fifth place, is named as 'Nandikeśvara-purāṇa' (and not as 'Nandiśvara-purāṇa') in the ASB ed (l. 25 24) as well as in the Dacca University Ms No. 4199 (fol. 71b) and Ind Off Ms No. 1313a (Eggeling, Ind Off, Cat., VI, pp. 1226-29, No 3402) of the Bṛhaddharma-p; but in the Dacca Univ Mss Nos 319 (fol. 44a) and 4649 (fol. 96a), it is mentioned as 'Nandikeśvara-purāṇa'.

12. Kālīpurāṇa, 13. Vāsiṣṭha-lainga; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura;
16. Parāśara, 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.¹⁷

XVIII. Vindhya-māhātmya (claiming to belong to the Brhad-auśanasa-upapurāṇa), chap. 4—

1. Sanatkumāra, 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nāradya; 4. Śiva; 5. The excellent (anuttamam) Daurvāsasa; 6. Kāpila, 7. The holy (punyam) Mānava, 8. Auśanasa; 9 Vārūna; 10. Kālīkākhya; 11. Sāmba, 12. The auspicious (work) compiled by Nandī (nandī-kṛtam śubham), 13. Saura, 14. Parāśara, 15. The highly extensive (atīvistaram) Āditya, 16. Māheśvara, 17. Bhārgavākhyā, 18. The extensive (savistaram) Vāsiṣṭha.¹⁸

XIX. 'Brahmavaivarta' quoted in Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p 14—

1. Ādya (called) Sanatkumāra (ādyam sanatkumaram);
2. Nāradya, 3 Nārasimha; 4. Śaivadharmā, 5. Daurvāsa;

17 ādyam sanatkumāroktam nārasimham tatah param/
nāndākhyam śivadharmākhyam daurvāsam nāradyakam//
kāpilam mānavam caiva tathaivośanaseritam/
brahmāndam vārūnam kālīpurāṇākhyam tathaiva ca//
vāsiṣṭhalainga-samjñam ca sāmham sauram tathaiva ca/
parāśara-samākhyam ca mārīcam bhārgavāhvayam//

ASB Ms No 8205, fol. 2b (Shastri, ASB Cat., V, No 4098). See also Shastri, ASB Cat., V, No. 4097 (Ms No 308), p 762; Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230 (v.l 'tathā cośanaseritam' for 'tathaivośanaseritam' in line 3, and 'vāsiṣṭham lainga-samjñam' for 'vāsiṣṭhalainga-samjñam' in line 5), and Ms No 38 in the Calcutta Government Sanskrit College (v.l 'vāsiṣṭham lainga-samjñam' in line 5)

The above verses of the Parāśara-upapurāṇa have been quoted as from 'Parāśara-purāṇa' in Tryambaka Oka's Ācāra-bhūṣana, p. 318 (v.l. 'nandākhyam' in line 2)

18 sanatkumāra(m) prathamam nārasimham tatah param/
nāradyam śivam caiva durgāsasanam (? daurvāsasam) anuttamam//
kāpilam mānavam punyam tathā cauśanasa(m) smrtam/
vārūnam kālīkākhya(m) ca sāmham nandīkṛtam śubham//
sauram parāśaram proktam ādityam cātīvistaram/
māheśvaram bhārgavākhyam vāsiṣṭham ca savistaram//

ASB Ms No. 8091, fol 8a (Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp 745-6, No. 4086) See also Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp 746-7, No. 4087 (Ms No 538).

6 Kāpileya, 7. Mānava; 8 Śaukra; 9. Vāruṇa; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Kālīpurāṇa; 12. Vāsiṣṭha-lainga; 13. Māheśa, 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura; 16. Pārāśara; 17. Mārīca, 18. Bhārgava, which sets on foot all (kinds of) Dharmā (sarva-dharma-pravartakam).

XX. 'Brahmavaivarta' quoted in Gopāla-dāsa's Bhakti-ratnākara—

1. Sānatkumāra; 2. Nānda; 3. Nārasimha; 4. Daurvāsasa; 5. Śaivadharmā; 6. Kāpileya; 7. Mānava, 8. Śaukra; 9 Vāruṇa; 10. Vāsiṣṭha; 11. Sāmba; 12. Kālīpurāṇa, 13. Māheśa, 14. Pārāśara; 15. Bhārgava; 16. Mārīca; 17. Saura; 18. Brahmāṇḍa.¹⁹

XXI. Verses (on the Upapurāṇas) quoted anonymously in Madhu-sūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthāna-bheda, p 10—

1. Ādya (sanatkumāreṇa proktam), 2. Nārasimha, 3. Nānda, 4 Śivadharmā; 5. Daurvāsa; 6. Nāradya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālīpurāṇa, declared by Vasiṣṭha (vāsiṣṭham)²⁰; 13. Vāsiṣṭha-lainga, also called Māheśvara; 14 Sāmbapurāṇa, 15 Saura, an extremely wonderful work (sauram mahādbhutam), 16. Pārāśara; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

19 tataḥ aṣṭādaśa upapurāṇāni ca brahmavaivarta-mate—

sānat-kumāraṃ nāndaṃ ca nārasimham tathaiiva ca/
daurvāsasam śaivadharmam kāpileyam ca mānavam//
śaukram ca vārunam caiva vāsiṣṭham sāmham eva ca/
kālīpurāṇam māheśam pārāśaram ca bhārgavam//
mārīcam ca tathā sauram brahmāṇḍākhyam tathaiiva ca/
etāny upapurāṇāni nigadanti purāṇiḍah//

(Mitra, Notices, IX, No. 2918, p. 32).

It should be mentioned here that these verses are quite different from those ascribed to the 'Brahmavaivarta' in Mitra Miśra's Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14

20 The relevant line naming the 'Kālīpurāṇa' is "tataḥ kālīpurāṇākhyam vāsiṣṭham muni-puṃgavāḥ," in which 'vāsiṣṭham' may be a wrong reading for 'vīsiṣṭam'. This latter reading ('vīsiṣṭam') is found to occur in the Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p) whose verses on the titles of the eighteen Upapurāṇas agree with those quoted in the Prasthāna bheda.

XXII. Ekāmra-purāṇa 1. 20b-23—

- 1 Brhannārasimha, 2 Brhadvaiṣṇava, 3. Gāruda;²¹
4. Brhat Nāradiya, 5 Nāradiya,²² 6. Prabhāsaka, 7. Līlāvātipurāṇa, 8. Devī, 9. Kālīkā, 10 Ākhetaka; 11. Brhannandi; 12 Nandikeśvara, 13 Ekāmra; 14 Ekapāda, 15 Laghu-bhāgavata; 16. Mṛtyuñjaya, 17 Āngīrasaka; 18. Sāmba.

XXIII Vāruṇopapurāṇa, chap 1—

1. Ādya, spoken out by Kumāra (ādyam kumāra-kathitam),
2. Nṛsimha, 3. Nāradiyaka, 4 Vāsiṣṭha-lainga, 5. Mātīca,
6. Nandākhyā, 7. Bhārgava, 8. Māheśvara, 9. Auśanasa,
10. Āditya; 11. Ganeśaka, 12. Kālīya (Kālīya?), 13 Kāpila,
14. Durvāsa (Daurvāsasa?), 15. Śivadharmaka,
16. (The Upapurāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśareṇa kathitam), 17 Sāmba, 18. Vāruṇa.²³

A glance over the above lists will show how greatly divergent the lists sometimes are. Though, as will be shown hereafter, the same Upapurāṇa is in some cases mentioned in different lists under different titles, the above lists supply us with the titles of many more Upapurāṇas than eighteen.

Besides the Upapurāṇas mentioned in these lists, there were many others, of which some are available in printed forms, some still exist in manuscripts, some are known only from references and quotations,²⁴ and some must have been lost altogether without leaving any trace of their existence. In spite of the serious loss that has been

21-22 The 'Gāruda' and the 'Nāradiya' have not been named in the list of Mahāpurāṇas given in the Ekāmra-p (1 18-20a). They have been replaced by the 'Śaiva' and the 'Nārasimha,' which are really Upapurāṇas.

23 For the relevant verses see Sastri and Sastri, Madras Cat., XXVII, No 15663, p 10331

24 From an examination of a large number of works, especially of the Sanskrit literature, we have been able to collect the names of more than one hundred Upapurāṇas including those mentioned in the above lists. Questions relating to the identification, date and contents of these Upapurāṇas will be dealt with as fully as possible in their respective cases.

brought upon the Upapurāṇa literature by the progress of time and the consequent changes in political administration as well as in the ideas, manners and customs of the people, the Upapurāṇic works are still rich in number and content.

Though it must be admitted that in this extensive Upapurāṇa literature there are works which are of comparatively late dates, it is by no means wise to suppose that the whole literature cannot lay claim to an early beginning. The verses of the Kūrma-p., which contain the list of 'eighteen Upapurāṇas', are found quoted in Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (I, pp. 792-3), Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya* (*Paribhāṣā-prakāśā*, pp. 13-14), and Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (I, pp. 532-3 and II. 1, p. 21). The titles, as occurring in this list, are also given as derived from the 'Kūrma-p.' in Nārasiṃha Vājapeyī's *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, I, p. 19. A list very similar to that of the Kūrma-p. is found in the *Sūtra-saṃhitā* of the Skanda-p.,²⁵ in Sk VII. 1. 2. 11-15, in the *Siva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa* of the *Sūtra-saṃhitā* (which belongs to the Skanda-p. and of which all the four Khaṇḍas have been commented on by Mādhavācārya), in the *Parāśara-upapurāṇa* (1. 28-31),²⁶ and in the *Garuḍa-p.* (I. 223. 17-20).²⁷ In his *Dānasāgara* Vallālasena refers to the lists of Upapurāṇas occurring in the Kūrma and the Ādi-p.²⁸ These and similar other evidences, which can be adduced from different sources, are perhaps sufficient to show that the date of formation of the group of 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas as found in the Kūrma-p. should be placed not later than 850 A.D. The upper limit of this date seems to be supplied by Matsya-p., chap. 53, which, by its mention of only those four Upapurāṇas (viz., Nārasiṃha, Nandī-p., Sāmba and Āditya) which were

²⁵ Eggeling, *Ind Off Cat*, VI, p. 1382.

²⁶ For these verses see also Eggeling, *Ind Off Cat*, VI, p. 1230. Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, p. 762 (No 4097).

²⁷ The extant *Garuḍa-p.* should be dated between 850 and 1000 A.D. and most probably in the tenth century. See Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp 141-5

²⁸ tathā kūrmapurāṇādīpurāṇayoḥ/
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyākṛta-dāna-viḍhīni c1/)

Dānasāgara, p. 3, verses 12b-13a.

'well-established in society',²⁹ betrays its knowledge of a few more Upapurānas and at the same time its ignorance of any group of 'eighteen'. The probable date of Matsya-p., chap 53 being 550-650 A. D. and the verses (59-63), in which these four Upapurānas have been mentioned, appearing to be spurious but by no means very late additions,³⁰ the date of *formation* of the group should be placed approximately between 650 and 800 A. D.³¹

29 Cf upābhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratisthitāḥ - Mat. 53 59a

30 Mat 59-63, which give the titles and contents of the Upapurānas, appear to be spurious for the following reasons. —

- (i) Nothing is said about the gift of any of the Upapurānas, although the chapter is on *dāna-dharma*,
- (ii) there is no mention of the Upapurānas in verses other than those mentioned above,
- (iii) though in the verses following verse 63 the classification and contents of the Purānas and the titles and extents of the epics are given, there is not even a single word on the Upapurānas

These verses are, however not very late additions; for, Narasimha Vājapeyīn, who quotes all these verses except 59a in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, refers to Lakṣmīdhara's explanation of verse 63 (*astādaśabhyas tu prthak purānam etc*) as meaning the Kālikā-p etc (see Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p 18). As a matter of fact, Lakṣmīdhara quotes Mat 53 59b-63 in his Kṛtya-kalpataru, I (Brahmacāri-kānda), p 30 and takes the expression 'tad etebhyo vinirgatam' of Mat. 53 63 (*astādaśabhyas tu prthak purānam yat pradiśyate, etc*) to mean the Kālikā-p etc. Candēśvara and Hemādri also quote verses 59b-61 and 62c-63 in their Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp 31-32 and Caturvarga-cintāmani, II 1, pp 21-22 respectively. Following Lakṣmīdhara Candēśvara also explains the words 'tad etebhyo vinirgatam' (occurring in Mat 53 63) as 'vinirgatam udbhūtam yathā kālikāpurānādi'

The omission of these verses by Aparārka who quotes verses 3-4, 11-20, 22-25a and 26b-56a in his com (pp. 392-6) on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, by Vallātasena who quotes verses 3-4 and 11-56 in his Dānasāgara (pp 463-6), and by Govindānanda who has a few lines in his Dāna-kaumudī (p 70), should not be taken seriously. These authors, who drew upon Mat. 53 in connection with donation, had nothing to do with verses 59-63 in which there is no mention of donation.

31 Kūr. I. 1 16-20, which deal with the origin and titles of the eighteen Upapurānas and are given immediately after the list of the principal Purānas, do not seem to have belonged to the present Kūrma-p. in its Pāñcarātra

This approximate date of the *grouping* must not be taken to be the date of composition of the individual works forming the group, because all the eighteen Upapurāṇas, which do not belong to the same sect, could not have been written at the same time. The mention of the Nārasimha, Nandī-p., Sāmba and Āditya in Matsya-p., chap. 53 shows that there were Upapurāṇas which were written much earlier than the date of *formation* of the group; and such formation could be possible only when, in course of time, the Upapurāṇas attained the number of eighteen. It can be taken, therefore, that the age of the Upapurāṇas began approximately from the Gupta period.³² Orthodox opinion, however, is sometimes in favour of tracing the Upapurāṇas to a much earlier date.³³

As to the origin of the Upapurāṇas the Kūrma-p., Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.) and Parāśara-upapurāṇa record a tradition that the sages proclaimed the Upapurāṇas after listening to the eighteen Purāṇas from Vyāsa.³⁴ This tradition, which

character; because the line 'idam tu pañcadaśamam purāṇam kaurmam uttamam', which occurs after the list of the Upapurāṇas, clearly shows that it immediately followed the list of the principal Purāṇas and could not be separated by the list of the Upapurāṇas

For the date of the Kūrma-p. see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp 57ff

32 That this presumption is not totally baseless, we shall see when we analyse the Upapurāṇas individually.

33 For instance, in connection with the Upapurāṇas Mitra Miśra says in his Vīramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15) "etāny upapurāṇāni purāṇebhya eva nīrgatānīti yājñavalkyena purāṇatvena saṃgrhitāni", thus implying that the Upapurāṇas were known to Yājñavalkya

34 Cf. Kūr. I 1. 16—

anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu/
astādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā saṃksepato dvijāh//;

Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa 1. 12b-12a—

astādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā satyavatī-sutāt/
anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kīrtitāni tu//

(for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378),

Parāśara-upapurāṇa 1. 27-28a—

evam ājñāpitās tena śivena munayah purā/
śrutvā satyavatī-sūnoḥ purāṇam sakalam mudā//
anyāny upapurāṇāni cakruḥ sātatarāni vai/

(for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230, and Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 762).

is accepted as true by the Nibandha-writers and others,³⁵ assigns the Upapurānas to a date posterior to that of the Purānas and consequently to a position inferior to that of the latter. The Matsya-p. goes a step farther when it calls the Upapurānas mere subsections (*upabhedā*) of the Purānas and propounds the theory that any Purānic work, which will be found to be 'different' (*prthak*) from the eighteen Purānas, must be known to have originated from one or other of these Purānas.³⁶ The great popularity of this theory is evidenced not only by its verbal reproduction in some of the Purānic works themselves³⁷ but also by the fact that the Nibandhakāras and others refer to, or reproduce, the lines of the Matsya-p. either in explaining the origin and nature of the different Upapurānas in accordance with this theory or in including, in the class of Upapurānas, those works of Purānic character which were not mentioned in the lists known to the respective writers, so that these last-mentioned works might be regarded as equally authori-

35 The entire verse

anyāny upapurānāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu/
astādaśa purānāni śrutvā samksepato dvijāḥ//

of the Kūrma-p. is quoted in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p 19, Viramītrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p 13, and Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p 532 and II, 1, p 21, whereas only the first line is quoted by Raghunandana in his Smṛti-tattva, I, p 792 and by Jīva Gosvāmin in his commentary (named Kramā-samdarbha) on Bhāg XII. 7 17-22.

36 Cf. Mat. 53 59a and 63—

upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratisthitāḥ/

...

astādaśabhyas tu prthak purānam yat pradiśyate/
vijānīdhvam dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam//

For the reading 'pradiśyate' (in the second line), see also the AnSS and Venkat. editions as well as that published by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara.

37 Cf., for example, Sk VII. 1. 2. 79b and 83—

upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratisthitāḥ/

..

..

.

astādaśabhyas tu prthak purānam yac ca drśyate/
vijānīdhvam dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam//

These lines agree remarkably with Mat 53 59a and 63 quoted above.

tative.³⁸ The extant Saura-p. also lends strong support to the above theory when it calls the Upapurāṇas mere supplements (khila) to the principal Purāṇas and attaches itself in that capacity to the Brahma-p.³⁹

Though from these evidences it is clear that the above theory is one of long standing and wide acceptance, an examination of the

38 The verse 'astādaśabhyas tu prthak purānam' of the Matsya-p (53 63) has been quoted in Jīva Gosvāmī's commentary (named Krama-samdarbha) on Bhāg. XII 7. 17-22 (v l 'pradrśyate' for 'pradiśyate'), in Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15 (v l 'tu drśyate' for 'pradiśyate'), in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18 (v l. 'tu drśyate'), in Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 32 (v l 'tu drśyate'), in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533 (v l 'pradrśyate') and II. 1, p. 22 (v l 'tu drśyate'), and in Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30 (v l 'tu drśyate'). As has already been said, Lakṣmīdhara explains this verse as referring to the Kālikā-p etc (See Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30—astādaśabhyas tu prthak purānam yat tu drśyate/vijānīdhvam dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam/vinirgatam udbhūtam/yathā kālikāpurānādi For this explanation of Lakṣmīdhara see also Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 32, and Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18) On the basis of this verse Mitra Miśra even goes so far as to say that as Yājñavalkya knew that the Upapurāṇas originated from the Purāṇas, he made no separate mention of the former but included them among the latter (cf etāny upapurāṇāni purāṇebhya eva nirgatāniti yājñavalkyena purāṇatvena saṁgrhitāni—Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15)

See also Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthāna-bhāṣa (p. 1) which says. 'atropapurāṇānām api purāṇe 'ntarbhāvaḥ'.

On the authority of this verse of the Matsya-p. the Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, pp. 18-19) and the Viramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15) include the Kālikā-p, Vāyu-upapurāṇa, Devī-p, Bhaviṣyottara, Nandikeśvara-p, Ādi-p. etc. among the Upapurāṇas.

39 Cf Saura-p 9. 12b-13a—

khilāny upapurāṇāni yāni caktāni sūribhiḥ/
idam brahmapurāṇasya khilam sauram anuttamam//

Cf. also Saura-p. 9 5b—

etac copapurāṇānām khilātvaḥ lakṣaṇam smṛtam

All these three lines have been quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 532, whereas only the second line is found to occur in the Skanda-p (V. III. 1, 46a, with v l 'sulabham sauram uttamam' for 'khilam sauram anuttamam'), the Revā-māhātmya (Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65), and the 'Śaiva-purāṇa' drawn upon in Jīva Gosvāmī's commentary (Krama-samdarbha) on Bhāg XII. 7. 17-22.

Upapurāṇas themselves shows that these works do not often look upon this theory with the same respect as the principal Purāṇas or other works do. In a large number of cases the Upapurāṇas are found to style themselves simply 'Purāṇa' and not 'Upapurāṇa' and to try to pass on their own merit without caring to attach themselves for the sake of authority to any of the principal Purāṇas,⁴⁰ and in a few cases they even vie with the principal Purāṇas by laying claim to their position.⁴¹ Sometimes they are found to go a step farther and claim to be superior to the Mahāpurāṇas⁴² It is to be noted that the older of the extant Upapurāṇas do not give any list of Upapurāṇas, nor do they seem to be familiar with their common title 'Upapurāṇa' or with the theory of their origin which makes them mere supplements to the principal Purāṇas.⁴³ This disagreement between the time-honoured theory and the actual practice of the Upapurāṇas, especially of the older ones, naturally raises doubt as to the amount of truth contained in this theory. So, in order to acquaint ourselves with the actual state of things and thus to explain successfully this disagreement between theory and practice, we shall have to investigate into the origin of the present Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas.

In connection with our study on the present form and character of the principal Purāṇas we have said elsewhere⁴⁴ that the Purāṇa

40 For examples we may refer to the Narasimha-p, Devī-p, Kālikā-p. etc.

41 For instance, in its Vāyaviya-saṃhitā (1. 1 41) the Śiva-p. lays claim to the position of a principal Purāṇa by saying that the Devī-bhāgavata (1 3 16) includes the Bhāgavata-p. among the Upapurāṇas, obviously in order to establish its own claim to the status of a Purāṇa, the 'Kālikā-p' claims to be the real Bhāgavata-p probably, because of its dealing with the exploits of Bhagavatī (see the verse of the 'Kālikā-p' quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p 531), and so on

42 See the line 'anyāny upapurāṇāni cakruḥ sāratarāni vai' of the Parāśara-upapurāṇa quoted in foot-note 34 above

43 For instance, see Devī-p., Narasimha-p, and Sāmba-p

44 Problems relating to the eighteen Purāṇas have been dealt with elaborately in our Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, published by the University of Dacca See also B C. Mazumdar's article on the origin and character of the Purāṇa literature in Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes III, Orientalia—Part 2, pp. 9-30.

literature, which can be traced back to the Vedic period and was as sacred and important to the Vedic Aryans as the Vedas themselves, dealt with five subjects⁴⁵ in its earlier (but most probably not in its original) form, and that, in course of time, its character was changed by the Smārta Brahmin sectaries who took it up for successfully propagating their own ideas among the people who were gradually losing respect for the Vedas and the Brahmanical rules of life and conduct under the influence of the heresies as well as of the popular systems of religion then prevailing in the country. Hence the question arises—who among the Smārta Brahmin sectaries first concerned themselves with the writing and rewriting of the present Purāṇas?

From a study of the historical records of ancient India as well as of the Mahābhārata⁴⁶ and other early works of the Sanskrit literature we understand that in the pre-Gupta days the most powerful and popular systems of religion, except the heresies, were those of the Brāhmas (i.e. Brāhmā-worshippers), the Pāñcarātras and the Pāsūpatas. So, it may be supposed that it was the Smārta adherents to these religious systems who first took up the Purāṇas for establishing the Varnāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas among the people and increased the number of the already existing Purāṇas by fresh additions of Purāṇic works which were often characterised by the names of the sectarian deities or their chief forms. This supposition gains ground when we see from our examination and analysis of the contents of the extant Purāṇas⁴⁷ that those portions of these works which are to be dated

45 Viz., (i) *sarga* (creation), (ii) *pratisarga* (re-creation, i.e. the periodical annihilation and renewal of the worlds, including the geography of the earth and the atmosphere as well as the distribution of different races on the surface of the earth), (iii) *vaṁśa* (genealogies of gods, kings and sages), (iv) *manvantara* (cosmic cycles or the Manu-periods of time, i.e. those great periods each of which is reigned over by a Manu or primal ancestor of the human race), and (v) *vaṁśānucarita* (history of the royal dynasties and of the families of sages)

46 In the Mahābhārata the Pāñcarātras and the Pāsūpatas have been described. It makes no mention of the sub-sects which arose in course of time from these two mother sects

47 For analyses of the different Purāṇas see Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*, pp. 8ff.

earlier than 500 A. D. exhibit prominently the influence of the Smārta Brāhmas, Smārta Pāñcarātras and Smārta Pāśupatas.⁴⁸

The next most important and powerful group of sectaries to concern themselves with the composition of the Purāṇas were the Bhāgavatas who rose to great prominence during the Gupta period. It was undoubtedly the Smārta adherents to the Bhāgavata system who wrote the Bhāgavata-p.

Though it is next to impossible to say definitely when the Smārta adherents to the four systems mentioned above first began to use the Purāṇas for controlling the masses who had become seriously influenced by these⁴⁹ and other systems of religion, and what the number of the prevalent Purāṇas was when these sectaries first set their hands to them, it can scarcely be denied that more Purāṇas than one had come into existence long before the beginning of the Christian era. By its mention of a 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa'⁵⁰ the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra shows that at the time of composition of this Sūtra work 'the term Purāṇa had become so thoroughly specialised as to have lost its proper meaning, and had become merely the designation of a particular class of books. It would have required the existence of a number of books called Purāṇas to produce that change, and manifestly they must have had their own special names to distinguish from one another and so

48 For instance, the influence of Brahmiā is Supreme Brahmiā is prominent in Mārkaṇḍeya-p, chap. 45 (=chap 42 in the Venkat ed and chap 48 in Bibl Ind and Jivān nda's editions) which is one of the earliest chapters of the extant Mārkaṇḍeya-p. (see Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, English translation, Introduction, p 11, and Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp 8-13), the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, which preserves in it the earliest portions of the extant Padma-p, was originally written, or compiled, by the Brahmiā-worshippers (see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 120ff), the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa-p. are pre-eminently Pāśupata; the Viṣṇu and the extant Kūrma-p. in its earliest form are Pāñcarātra in character; and so on

49 For the original nature and early spread of these systems, see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 193ff.

50 The term 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' is self-contradicting, because the word 'purāṇa' originally means 'ancient', and then, as a name in literature, it signifies not an ancient book but an ancient subject, *Archaica*

convert their common title Purāṇa into a class designation.⁵¹ Hence it must be admitted that the number of Purāṇas had begun to multiply even before the time of Āpastamba. An examination of the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas⁵² shows that this growth in their number must have been accelerated by the activities of the sectaries mentioned above, and when, in course of time, their number became 'eighteen,'⁵³ it was rigidly fixed.

Here a question may be raised as to how the eighteen Purāṇas, which were the mouth-pieces of sectaries following different faiths, could be grouped together and regarded as equally important and authoritative by all of them and how they came to believe deeply in this group even at the sacrifice of their respective sectarian interests. In reply to this question we may refer to the spirit of religious syncretism,⁵⁴ as well as that of sectarian rivalry,⁵⁵ that went hand in hand in ancient India⁵⁶ and is to be found in the Hindu society even at the present day. These tendencies must have been incentives to the recasting of the same Purāṇa sometimes by different sects as well as as to the interpolation of chapters on different deities in a particular Purāṇa; and in this way all the Purāṇas had come to attain equal, or almost equal, importance in the eyes of the worshippers of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva before the grouping was made.

51 Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp 50-51.

52 For instance, the titles 'Brahma-purāṇa,' 'Padma-purāṇa,' etc. connect these works with Brahmā, who came out of the Lotus issuing from Viṣṇu's navel. Similarly, Matsya, Kūrma, Vāmana, etc. are the names of Viṣṇu's incarnations, Garuḍa is Viṣṇu's mount, and so on.

53 Among the numerals used for summing up a multitude of concrete objects, a line of abstract ideas, a number of traditional texts, and the like, the numeral 'eighteen' is often used in the position of a sacred number.

For a detailed study on this numeral see O. Stein in *Poona Orientalist*, Vol I, No. 3, pp 1-37.

54 Cf., for example, the great influence of the Sāṃkhya and Vedānta systems as well as of the doctrine of Trimūrti on the Purāṇas.

55 See, for instance, Varāha-p., chaps. 70 and 71, Padma-p. (Śrī-śū-kh.), chap. 17, Linga-p. I. 107. 41-42, and so on. See also Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*, pp. 8ff.

56 The present Purāṇas amply testify to both these tendencies.

The non-inclusion of the word '*upapurāna*' in the *Amarakoṣa* which defines '*Purāna*' as '*pañca-lakṣana*', and the mention of the titles of the 'eighteen' *Purānas* in the *Viṣṇu-p.*, *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* etc. without any reference, direct or indirect, to any *Upapurāna*, tend to show that the group of the 'eighteen' *Purānas* had been formed before the *Upapurānas* came into existence⁵⁷ After this grouping had been complete, there came into prominence many sub-systems which arose from the main systems of religion, mentioned above, either directly or by identifying the local deities with one or other of the prominent deities of the main systems. In addition to these, there were also other independent systems, viz, *Saura*,⁵⁸ *Śākta* etc, which began to hold the field and attain rivalry with the systems already established in the country. These sub-systems and independent systems also had their *Smārta* adherents who interpolated chapters in the *Purānas* of the already established group, and, in some cases, wrote new and independent *Purānic* works styled '*Purāna*'⁵⁹ in order to propagate their own ideas. Thus, with the progress of time the number of the *Purānas* was further increased with fresh additions. But as the followers of the famous group of the 'eighteen' *Purānas* believed deeply that there could be no '*Purāna*' beyond the famous 'eighteen', they were unwilling to assign these new *Purānic* works to a status equal to that of the famous *Purānas*. On the other hand, these new *Purānic* works had become too well-known and popular to be ignored totally. So, they introduced verses into the *Matsya-p.* to the effect that any *Purānic* work, which would be found to be different

57 The tradition recorded in the *Kūrma-p.*, *Śiva-māhātmya-kh.* etc also says that the *Upapurānas* were written by different sages after the eighteen *Purānas* had been completed by *Vyāsa*. (See footnote 34 above)

58 Though Sun-worship is of very ancient origin, the *Saura* sect, with Persian elements in the cult of the Sun, became prominent in India much later. See *Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp 151-3, *Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc.*, pp 153-5, J N Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp 137-140, 198-9, 430-445

59 Note that *Mat.* 53 60 mentions '*Nandipurāna*' (and not '*Nandi-upapurāna*'), although the latter is called an '*upabhedā*'

The *Narasimha-p.*, *Sāmba-p.*, *Devī-p.* etc. call themselves '*Purāna*' and not '*Upapurāna*.'

from the established eighteen, would be known to have originated from the latter. Thus, we think, the original position of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas and the rigidity of their number were maintained, and the Upapurāṇas also were given a position.

The theory, thus propounded and introduced into the Matsya-p. by the staunch believers in the 'eighteen' Purāṇas, influenced not only the later Purāṇas but also the Upapurāṇas in some cases and was the root cause of giving rise to the common title 'Upapurāṇa'⁶⁰ for the new Purāṇic works by calling them mere supplements (*upabhedā*) of the famous eighteen. It is for this reason that these new Purāṇic works are grouped under the common title 'Upapurāṇa' in some of the extant Purāṇas and that in a few cases the new Purāṇic works are found to attach themselves as supplements to one or other of the eighteen Purāṇas⁶¹ or to call themselves 'Upapurāṇas' in spite of their independent character.⁶²

As to the contents of the Upapurāṇas the Saura-p. says. "A Purāṇa has five characteristics, viz., creation, re-creation, genealogy (of gods, kings and sages), Manu-periods of time, and history of the royal dynasties and the families of sages. These are the characteristics of the Purāṇas such as the Brāhma etc. These, again, are known to be the characteristics of the Upapurāṇas because of their supplementary character."⁶³ The Bhāgavata and the Brahmavaivarta-p. also express the same opinion though from a different standpoint. Of these too works, the former says: "According to the Purāṇa-experts,

60 The Bhāgavata-p. (XII 7. 10 and 22) divides the Purāṇic works into two classes, (1) Alpa or Kṣullaka and (2) Mahat. But the passage, in which this classification occurs, is of a very late date

61 For instance, the Saura-p. is called a supplement to the 'Brahma-p.' in the body of the work as well as in the chapter-colophons

62 See, for instance, the Parāśara-upapurāṇa (a Ms of which has been described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1229-30).

63 sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca/
vaṁśānucaritam caiva purāṇam pañca-lakṣanam//
brāhmādinām purāṇānām uktam etat tu lakṣanam/
etac copapurāṇānām kṛtvā lakṣanam smṛtam//

Saura-p. 9. 4-5

a Purāna must be furnished with ten characteristics, viz., *sarga*, *visarga*, *vr̥tti*, *rakṣā*, *antara*, *vamśa*, *vamśānucarita*, *saṁsthā*, *hetu* and *apāśraya*, and some, O Brahman, ascribe to it five characteristics by distinguishing between 'great' and 'small' "64 The latter work, which is more direct and clear and seems to follow the former in its enumeration, says that an Upapurāna is to have five characteristics, viz., creation, re-creation, genealogy of gods and sages, cosmic cycle, and history of the royal dynasties and the families of sages, whereas a Mahāpurāna is to have ten, viz., *sr̥sti*, *visr̥sti*, *sthiti*, *pālana*, *karma-vāsanā*, *manu-vārtā*, *pralaya-varnana*, *mokṣa-nirūpaṇa*, *hari-kīrtana* and *deva-kīrtana*.⁶⁵ Whatever may be the views about the contents of the Upapurānas, an examination of the extant Upapurānas shows that very few of them conform even approximately to the above views. In spite of the great influence of the old tradition that a Purāna is to deal with five subjects, the Upapurānas, which are more exclusively adapted to suit the purposes of local cults and the religious needs of different sects than the

64 sargo'syātha visargaś ca vr̥tti-rakṣāntarāṇi ca/
vamśo vamśānucaritam saṁsthā hetur'apāśrayah//
daśabhir laksanair yuktaṁ purānam tadvido viduh/
kecit pañca-vidham brahman mahad-alpa-vyavasthayā//

Bhāg. XII 7. 9-10.

(The terms '*sarga*', '*visarga*' etc. have been defined in Bhāg XII 7. 11-21)

The second verse is explained by Śrīdhara Svāmī as: 'daśabhir etair laksanair arthair yuktaṁ mahāpurānam viduh/ kecit pañca-vidham/ sargaś ca pratī-sargaś ca vamśo manvantarāṇi ca/ vamśānucaritam ceti purānam pañca-laksanam// iti/ mahat purānam alpam ceti vyavasthayā/ yatra daśāpi laksanāni prthak prthak nirūpyante tan mahāpurānam/ yatra tv anyeṣāṁ pañcasv evāntarbhāvasya vivakṣā tad alpam iti vyavasthayetyarthah/' Viśvanātha Cakravartin also explains this verse in the same way, and even with the same words, as Śrīdhara. According to these explanations the Mahāpurānas must deal with the ten subjects separately, whereas in the Upapurānas the five topics (creation, re-creation etc.) must include the remaining five.

As regards its own contents the Bhāgavata-p (II. 9. 43) says that it has ten characteristics which are enumerated, with explanation, as *sarga*, *visarga*, *sthāna*, *posana*, *ūti*, *manvantara*, *iśānukathā*, *nirōdha*, *mukti* and *āśraya* (Bhāg II. 7 1-7) That there is practically no difference between the two lists of the ten characteristics of a Purāna, is shown by Śrīdhara Svāmī in his explanation of the verse 'sargo'syātha visargaś ca' (Bhāg. XII 7. 9)

Māhāpurāṇas and which arose at a time when the genealogies began to be neglected,⁶⁶ are never found to be serious about the genealogies of kings and sages. In those cases in which the Upapurāṇas include such genealogies, the ancient kings, especially of the Solar and Lunar races, are the chief points of interest, probably because of their giving a stamp of antiquity to these works, and nothing is said about any of the dynasties of the Kali age. Even as regards those genealogies which have been included in the Upapurāṇas, no care has been taken to preserve their correctness, but new myths and stories have been unscrupulously fabricated and attached to the important names in these genealogies. But in spite of such defects the Upapurāṇas are of inestimable value from the point of view of the history of religion and culture, and on this head alone they deserve far more careful study than has hitherto been devoted to them. They not only afford us great insight into all phases and aspects of Hinduism—its mythology, its idol-worship, its theism and pantheism, its love of God, its philosophy and superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies, and its ethics, but also supply us with important information about the different branches of science and literature which were developed in ancient India and at the same time render us inestimable help in reconstructing some of those monumental works of the Sanskrit literature which have been lost for ever.⁶⁷ In these respects the Upapurāṇas are sometimes more important than the Māhāpurāṇas. The latter attained such an enviable and authoritative position from an early date that they were often worked upon by the different sectaries and, in

65 Bv IV. 131. 6-10.

66 An examination of the extant Māhāpurāṇas shows that the custom of recording new dynastic history ceased with the early Guptas, after whom no important dynasty or monarch of India has been mentioned or described in the Purāṇas. This proves that from the Gupta period the Purāṇic tradition took, in practice, a new trend which culminated in turning the Purāṇas into books of myths and legends and Smṛti topics with highly imperfect, and sometimes forged, genealogical lists.

67 In some cases the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas contain summaries of ancient Sanskrit works such as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and, more often, incorporate chapters and verses from old and authoritative works, some of which are no longer extant,

some cases, bodily replaced by later works bearing the same titles as those of the earlier ones.⁶⁸ So, the text of the extant Mahāpurāṇas which are the results of innumerable changes, modifications and interpolations made in different times and by different sects, is scarcely reliable and can be used only with great caution and careful discrimination. But very different is the case with the Upapurāṇas which, probably on account of their secondary position, have been worked upon much less freely by the later redactors and interpolators. They have thus been able to preserve, in a few cases, their older materials along with their distinctive sectarian character. It is for this reason that among the extant Upapurāṇas there are some which are much older than many of the extant Mahāpurāṇas.⁶⁹ In those cases in which the Upapurāṇas have been subjected to modifications and interpolations or have been replaced by later works bearing the same titles as those of the works replaced,⁷⁰ the authors of these changes, modifications etc. are very often persons belonging to those sects to which the respective Upapurāṇas originally belonged. So, in spite of their modifications, interpolations or totally new forms, they are to be valued as the records of changes undergone in different ages by the respective sects to which these works originally belonged, and the hands of people belonging to more sects than one being scarcely laid on any one of them, their study is generally a little easier than that of the extant Mahāpurāṇas.

68 For instance, we may refer to the present Brahma, Agni, and Garuda-p
For information about these Purāṇas, see Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*, pp. 134-157

69 We shall try to prove the truth of this statement when we shall deal with the question of chronology of the different Upapurāṇas.

The Upapurāṇas are certainly not all 'later and inferior works' as F. E Pargiter would make us believe (See Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol X, p. 455 for Pargiter's views regarding the Upapurāṇas)

70 The old tradition recorded in the verse

'kālenāgrahanam drstvā purāṇasya tato nrpa/
vyāsa-rūpam aham krtvā samharāmi yuge yuge/,'

was as much applicable to the Upapurāṇas as to the Mahāpurāṇas. It is for this reason that works or chapters on older rites and customs were sometimes replaced by new ones.

It has already been said that the Upapurāṇa literature consists of a large number of works, of which some are available in printed forms, some exist in manuscripts, some are known only from references and quotations, and some must have perished altogether without leaving any trace of their existence. Of these works, I shall first analyse those which were available to me in printed forms or manuscripts. The Upapurāṇas still existing in manuscripts beyond my reach or known from references and quotations will be dealt with later.

CHAPTER II

THE SAURA UPAPURĀNAS

The Sun has been, under different names, an object of great adoration from the early Vedic period, and it is possible that there arose quite early a fairly extensive literature, both Purāṇic and otherwise,¹ on the praise and worship of this god, who appears in the Vedic works as one of the most prominent deities, but of the numerous Purāṇic works now extant it is only the Sāmba-p. which deals principally with the cult of the Sun. Chapters and extracts on the method and praise of Sun-worship occur in some of the other Purāṇas also, viz., Bhaviṣya-p., Brahma-p., Skanda-p., Varāha-p., Matsya-p., Agni-p., Garuda-p., Viṣṇudharmottara, Bhaviṣyottara, Kālikā-p., and so on. The Mārkaṇḍeya-p. contains a few chapters on the praise of and stories about the Sun.

The Vedic, epic and Sanskrit literatures abound in evidences regarding the early beginning and spread of the worship of the atmospheric sun as a god, but the conception of the Sun as an imaginary god of light and the practice of his worship in images came into vogue at a comparatively late period. That this later phase of Sun-worship was due to Magian influence is amply evidenced by the Scythian coins,² the Purāṇic works, the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (chaps. 58 and 60), and

1 For instance, in Bhaviṣya-p I 4 89 we find mention of an ancient work dealing with the Saura Dharmas as declared by Nārada (saurā dharmāś ca rājendra nāradoktā mahipate) According to the Bhaviṣya, this work (most probably called 'Saura-dharma') as well as the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, etc. was designated technically by the term 'Jaya' (see Bhaviṣya-p I. 4. 87b-89)

The above line of the Bhaviṣya-p. is found quoted in Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru (I, p. 25), Candēśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara (p. 30), and Narasimha Vājapecyīn's Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, p. 22) with the reading 'mānavoktāh' for 'nāradoktāh'.

It should be mentioned here that the Saura work spoken out by Nārada (or Mānava) has become extinct.

2 Ind Ant., 1888, pp. 89ff. Gardner, Coins of Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, pp. 131, 134, 141-3, 155,

a number of seals and inscriptions.³ Probably during the reign of the Scythian kings or even earlier, a new form of Sun-worship was introduced in Northern India by bands of Magi priests who called their deity 'Mithra' (or 'Mihira'). These Magas, as the Magi priests were called in India, seem to have established their first settlement at a place called 'Mitra-vana' ('forest of Mitra') on the bank of the Caudrabhāgā in the Punjab, and at this place they constructed a city called 'Mūla-sthāna' ('original place of settlement' or 'original place of the Sun'—modern Multan) and a Sun-temple⁴ containing an image of the deity. As the Magian adherents to the worship of the Sun (Mithra) had a proselytising spirit and must have enjoyed state-support at least under the Scythian kings,⁵ they set themselves most zealously to popularising their faith in different parts of India. In striking agreement with the orthodox followers of the Vedas, they pointed out to the people the various benefits of Sun-worship, viz., freedom from sins and diseases, attainment of peace and prosperity, success in enterprises, and so on.⁶ They also took full advantage of the long-standing popularity of the deity in India and of his worship in a symbol which was very often a wheel or disc and not rarely a circle or a lotus.⁷ As Viṣṇu, Śiva and many other deities had begun from a

and so on; Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, Vol I, pp 188-9, 198, and so on

3 See Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc, p 154; J N Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 198-9.

4 This historic temple, with the enshrined image of the Sun, was visited by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang as well as by Alberūnī, Al Edrisī, Abu Ishak al Ishtakhrī, and several others

For Hiuen Tsiang's description of this temple see Samuel Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, pp. 274-5

5 For the probable connection of the kings of the Śuṅga and Kanva dynasties as well as of the Hūnas with Mitra- (Mithra-) worship, see Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, pp 56-7

6 Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā (Calcutta), LVII, 1357 B S, pp. 25-43

The story of Sāmba, as given in the Sāmba-p, Bhavīsyā-p. and Varāha-p, shows clearly that the Magas laid special stress on the Sun's capacity for destroying sins and curing various diseases, especially leprosy,

7 For the basis of the Vedic custom of representing Sūrya by a wheel or disc see Rg-veda I. 175 4, IV. 28. 2, 30. 4, and V. 29. 10, in which Sūrya has

very early period to be widely worshipped in images,⁸ for which public or private temples were often built, Indian people must have felt a great want in these respects with regard to the worship of the Sun, for which the Vedic people made no provision for the construction of any image or temple. Fortunately, the Magas came forward to remove this long-felt want, and it was to this contribution of these foreigners that their remarkable success in speedily popularising their faith was due to a very great extent. The Sāmba-p. (29. 2-6) points to this truth when it says.

“na purā pratimā hy āsīt pūjyate maṇḍale raviḥ |
yathaitan maṇḍalam vyomni sthīyate savitus tadā ||
evam eva purā bhaktaiḥ pūjyate maṇḍalākṛtiḥ |
yataḥ prabhṛti cāpy esā nirmitā viśvakarmanā ||
sarva-loka-hitārthāya sūryasya puruṣākṛtiḥ |

*

*

*

grhesu pratimāyās tu na tāsām niyamah kvacit ||

*

*

*

devāyatana-vinyāse kāryaṃ mūrti-parīkṣanam ||”

been called a ‘wheel’ (cakra) or ‘the wheel (cakra) of Sūrya’ has been mentioned. See also Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa VII. 4. 1. 10, which mentions the placing of a disc of gold on the Fire altar to represent the Sun

For wheels and lotuses representing the Sun on coins, etc see Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, XVI, pp 51-3, and J. N. Banerjia, Development of Hindu Iconography, pp 137-140, 198-9 and 432ff. See also Mat 74-80, Pd, Srsti-khanda, 21. 216-321, Bhavisyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV), chaps. 48-53, and so on.

For a Mandala for Sun-worship see especially the Bhavisyā-p. (Brāhma-parvan) In commenting on Āpastamba-dharmasūtra II. 11. 29. 16 Haradatta says that the Dravidas used to worship Āditya (the Sun) by drawing Mandalas on the ground (...dravidāḥ kanyā-mesasthe savitāry āditya-pūjām ācaranti bhūmau maṇḍalam ālikhya ...).

8 See, for instance, Gautama-dharmasūtra 9. 13 (na vāyav-agni-vipr-ādity-āpo devatā gāś ca prati paśyan vā mūtra-puris-āmedhyān vyudasyet) and 9. 14 (naitā devatāḥ prati pādaḥ prasārayet) According to Haradatta and Maskari, the word ‘devatāḥ’, occurring in the former Sūtra, means images (pratimāḥ).

The separate use of the word ‘devatāḥ’ in the former Sūtra shows that the word ‘āditya’ meant the atmospheric sun and not any image of Āditya.

The word ‘devatāḥ’ in the latter Sūtra must have been intended for creating

“In ancient times there was no image (of the Sun), the Sun was worshipped in a circle. The Sun, worshipped by his devotees in early days, was circular, just as there is the disc (of the Sun) in the sky. The human form of the Sun (came into vogue) for the good of all the worlds from the time it was made by Viśvakarman.
 No rule is (to be observed) in the case of those images which are (worshipped) in (private) houses ; The examination of the image is to be made in case it is placed in a temple.”
 There was another strong ground for the wide popularity of the Magian method of Sun-worship. It was that the Magas allowed great privilege in religious matters to women and members of lower castes. However, the spread of Magian ideas was not, in all respects, very favourable to the Varṇāśrama-dharma and the authority of the Vedas. As regards conception of Mithra and the procedure of his worship, the Magi priests differed much from the Sun-worshippers of India. Their manners and customs also were, to a great extent, different from those of the members of the Vedic fold. Hence, in order to modify the earlier cult of the Sun by incorporating Magian elements (which must have been too popular to be neglected), to establish the position of Magas as full-fledged Brahmins authorised to worship the Sun, and to conform the Magian ideas and practices to the Vedic notions, the Sām̐ba-p. had to be written and chapters had to be inserted into the Bhaviṣya and other Purāṇic works. What steps were taken to achieve these ends and how and when, will be evident from the following analysis of the Sām̐ba-p.

1. THE SĀM̐BA-PURĀNA

This work,⁹ as we have it in the Veṅkaṭ. edition, is divided into 84 chapters. It begins with a salutation to the Sun (variously named a sense of divinity, with regard to wind, fire etc. and thus for pointing out their sacred character.

9 The only printed edition of this work is that published by the Veṅkateśvara Press, Bombay 1899. This edition has been accomplished so carelessly that innumerable mistakes, due to both omission and commission, have crept in. It is based most probably on a single Ms; otherwise, variants would have been given at some place or other of this edition. We have, however, used the

as Savitr, Bhāskara, Arka, Ravi, Āditya etc.) who is the cause of creation, protection and destruction of the universe and is the soul of Pitāmaha, Nārāyana and Śamkara, whose manifestations are the three Vedas, and who pervades the universe in the forms of Śakra, Vāhni, Yama, Varuṇa, Samīraṇa (i. e. Vāyu), Dhanada and others who crowd the quarters. It then states that during a twelve-year sacrifice in Naimiṣāranya Śaunaka asked Sūta, "Here, O Sūta, you have narrated

materials of this Purāna with extreme caution, As large numbers of verses, nay even complete chapters, of the Sāmba-p. are found common with the Bhaviṣya-p. (Brāhma-parvan), Brahma-p and Skanda-p (Prabhāsa-khanda), we have, in cases of doubt as regards the correctness of the readings of any of these verses, made a careful comparison before accepting any reading as authentic.

For Mss of the Sāmba-p see

(1) Eggeling, Ind Off Cat., VI, pp 1316-18

[No. 3619 —This is a complete Ms consisting of 70 chapters Its second introductory verse 'timira-kīra-kīrātaḥ etc' does not occur in the printed edition. Though Eggeling's description of this Ms as well as a comparison of its concluding verses with those of the ASB and Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss shows that the contents of this Ms are practically the same as those of the printed edition, chap 55 of the printed edition does not seem to occur in this Ms The difference in the numbers of chapters between this Ms and the printed edition is due to the fact that in a few cases single chapters of this Ms have each been split up into two or more in the printed edition. For instance,

chap. 1 of this Ms = chaps 1-2 of the printed edition,

„ 48 „ „ = „ 49-52 „ „ „ „

and so on.

The contents of this Ms after chap 48 are divided into 22 sections which are neither numbered nor designated as Adhyāyas Some of these sections are termed 'Patala' These sections form practically a distinct part comprised under the general title 'Jñānottara'; and the last of these sections, which corresponds to chap. 84 of the printed edition, ends with a few verses which occur in the latter. These concluding verses agree with those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms (for which see below).

No 3620.—This is practically the same as the preceding Ms]

(2) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 750-7

[No. 4091 —This incomplete Ms, which agrees considerably with the Ind. Off. Ms mentioned above, lacks the second introductory verse 'timira-kīra-kīrātaḥ etc.' of the latter It ends with chap 81 and a part of chap 82 of the printed edition. Thus, it lacks chaps. 83-84 and a part of chap. 82 of the latter.

No. 4092.—This Ms was copied in Śaka 1764 It consists of 75 chapters,

to us, first of all, the old and much elaborate story of the six-faced [god Kārttikeya]; next [you have told us about] the Cosmic Egg (brahmāṇḍa), and also what was spoken by Vāyu and by Sāvarnika, by Mārkaṇḍeya and by Vaiśampāyana, by Dadhīci and by Śarva (i.e. Śiva), by Hari, by the sages, and by the Bālakhilyas. And we have heard all these [from you] in company with the sages. But, O sage, you have not narrated what was done by the son of Hari (i.e. by Sāmba) The Purāṇa of Bhāskara (bhāskarasya purāṇam), which was enquired into by the wise Sāmba, is concerned with the twelfth form

of which the last corresponds to chap. 84 of the printed edition. In spite of this difference in the numbers of chapters, the contents of this Ms and the printed edition are practically the same. In this Ms, chaps 52-74 have been grouped under a general title 'Jñānottara,' but this title does not occur in the colophon of chap. 75, in which Nārada speaks to Sāmba.

No 4093.—Though this Ms consists of 83 chapters and has a defective beginning, it is practically the same as the printed edition. Of the last six verses of the concluding chapter of this Ms, the first two and a half agree with verses 14-15 of chap 84 of the printed edition, and the remaining ones are the same as the verses immediately preceding the two concluding verses of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. Like the other Mss and the printed edition, this Ms contains a latter part called 'Jñānottara', but in the colophon of its concluding chapter, in which Nārada speaks to Sāmba, the word 'Jñānottara' does not occur.

No. 4094.—It deals with the praise of the Śāka-dvīpi Brahmins and claims to be the seventh chapter of the Sāmba-p. But in the printed edition the Śāka-dvīpi Brahmins are praised in chap. 26. Moreover, the opening verses of this Ms, as given by Shastri, do not agree with those of chap. 26 of the printed edition. So, we are not sure whether these two chapters are considerably the same.]

(3) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat. IV, pp 122-3

[No. 214.—The introductory and the concluding verses of this Ms, as given in the Catalogue, show that the contents of this Ms also are practically the same as those of the printed edition. The two concluding verses of this Ms agree with those of the Ind. Off. Ms; and the three verses and a half, immediately preceding those two concluding verses, are found to occur at the end of an ASB Ms (Cat. No. 4093).]

(4) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. ii, pp. 1000-1001.

(5) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 338.

(6) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 193.

(7) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7177-78, No. 10584.

of the Sun (? dvādaśākāra)..... O blessed one, please narrate this entire Purāṇa which is based on all scriptures".¹⁰ Consequently, Sūta praised the Sāmba-p. over the Mahābhārata and all other Purāṇas and said that this Purāṇa would contain chapters dealing with the following matters.

Various old and interesting stories; essence of the Vedas and the Smṛtis given in connection with the duties of the different castes; [various kinds of worship of the Sun, how Nārada caused Kṛṣṇa to curse Sāmba; (the Sun's) foundation of a town by way of favouring Sāmba; measurement of Sūrya-maṇḍala; the paring of the Sun's rays by means of a lathe, and the eulogy of the Sun; Sāmba's joy, and his consecration of an image of the Sun; Sāmba's bringing of the Magas; praise of the Magas; method of the worship of the Sun;]¹¹ the past, present and future, dissertation on *mantras*; description of the origin and destruction of the universe; sāṅgopāṅga-samāhāra; introduction of the rules about, and worship of, the Sun, the six acts, viz., vaśīkarana, ākarṣana, māraṇa, uccāṭana, vidveṣana, and *stambhana*; characteristics of the Sun's image; rules about the construction of the house for the worship of the Sun; description of maṇḍalas (circles), and the performance of various kinds of yāga (viz., kṛiyā-yāga, siddhi-yāga, mahāmaṇḍala-yāga, etc.), means of attaining the proximity of the twelve-formed Sun; placing of the Sun on the lathe;¹² rules

10 Sāmba-p. 1. 8b-14

11 After 1. 17a our printed edition omits the following five verses —

śṛnudhvam munayah sarve sāmākhyam pāpanāśanam/
purāṇam sarva-rogaḥnam param kalyāna-dāyakam //
atra nānā-vidhā pūjā sūryasya ca mahātmanah/
pituh śāpo hi sāmasya nāradas tatra kāraṇam//
śāpānugrahataś caiva tathā pura-niveśanam/
maṇḍalasya pramāṇam hi bhramar ārādhanam tathā//
tejasām śātanam caiva sūrya-stavas tathāiva ca/
sāmasya ca tadollāsam pratimā-sthāpanam tathā//
magānayanam atraiva maga-māhātmyam eva ca/
pūjā-vidhim raver atra pūjānisthās tathāiva ca//

For these verses see Eggeling, Ind Off Cat., VI, p. 1317.

12 The printed ed. reads 'bhūmer vā tosanam' (1. 21), but the Ind. Off. Ms reads 'bhramimānopanam.' As Eggeling suggests, the original reading was

about flowers and incense; duties on the Saptamī Tithi; method of fasting; results of gifts; determination of proper time; method of performing the duties to the Sun, method of burning incense; directions regarding the study of scriptures (called 'jaya'); description of dreams; penance; characteristics of spiritual preceptors, initiation, and selection of *mantras* for the initiated; and various eulogies.—(Chap. 1).

Sūta then said that once king Bṛhadbala, who was born in the race of Raghu, wanted to hear from his preceptor Vasistha about the eternal Brahma which caused cessation of rebirths, and put to him the following questions:—

(1) Which god should be worshipped by a member of any of the four āśramas who wishes to attain final release?

(2) How could he be sure of the attainment of heaven as well as the highest bliss?

(3) What should he do after passing to heaven, so that he may not lose it again?

(4) Who is the chief among the gods and Pitṛs?

(5) Whence did this universe originate, and where will it go after destruction?

In answer to these questions Vasistha praised the Sun as the only visible and eternal deity who is the highest among the gods and Pitṛs and is the only source of energy, who never moves from his fixed position, who manifests the universe from himself in creation and absorbs it into himself at the time of destruction, into whom the Yogins and the Sāṃkhyas enter after forsaking their bodies, and into whose region the kings like Janaka, the sages like the Bālakṛiṣṇas, Pañcāśikha and Śuka, and many members of different *varṇas* entered in times of yore by practising *yoga*, and who, therefore, is the only god deserving devotion and worship.—(Chap. 2). Bṛhadbala then wanted to know where the original place (*ādyam sthānam*) of worship of the Sun was situated on earth. Consequently, Vasistha said that out of affection for Sāmba and in order to favour the whole world the Sun permanently resided, in his twelfth form, viz.,

probably 'bṛtam āropanam' or 'bhramar āropanam.' It is more probable that the reading was 'bhramāv āropanam.'

Mitra,¹³ in the 'city called Sāmba' on the bank of the Candrabhāgā and thence favoured his worshippers by accepting their worship duly performed. At Br̥hadbala's request Vasistha narrated the story of Sāmba in the following way.

Viṣṇu, one of the twelve sons of Aditi,¹⁴ was born as Vāsudeva, and Sāmba was the son of this Vāsudeva. Once the irascible sage Nārada, who had access into all the regions of the universe, came with some sages to the city of Dvāravatī in order to see Vāsudeva. Pradyumna and other young Yādavas received Nārada with proper respect, but Sāmba was so proud of his youth and physical beauty and was so much addicted to amorous sports that he neglected the sage. In order to teach Sāmba modesty, Nārada told Vāsudeva that all his 16000 wives were so much enamoured of Sāmba that they were always anxious to meet him. But Vāsudeva did not believe in Nārada's words. So, Nārada promised to convince Vāsudeva of the truth of his allegation, and went away. After a few days Nārada returned to Dvārakā and found Vāsudeva enjoying water-sports etc. in the pleasure-garden in Raivataka in company with his wives, who

13 Sāmba-p. 3. 3 reads. —

prityā sāmasya tatrārko jagato 'nugrahāya ca/
sthito dvādaśa-bhāgena mitro maitreṇa caksusā//

In Sāmba-p 4.6 Mitra is mentioned as the last of the twelve Ādityas

14 Sāmba-p 3.6 reads. —

aditer dvādaśaḥ putro viṣṇur yah sa punas tv iha/
vāsudevatvam āpannas tasya sāmbo 'bhavat sutah//

In this verse Viṣṇu is called the twelfth son of Aditi, but in none of the two lists of the names of the twelve Ādityas given in Sāmba-p., chaps. 4 (verse 6) and 9 (verses 3b-4) Viṣṇu is assigned the twelfth place. Moreover, in the lines corresponding to Sāmba-p 3 6 the Bhavisiya-p does not mention Viṣṇu as the twelfth Āditya. These lines of the Bhavisiya-p. (I 72 10-11) are as follows —

ya ete dvādaśādityā virājante mahābalāh/
tesāṃ yo viṣṇu-samjñas tu sarva-lokesu viśrutah/
tasmāt sāmboh suto jajñe etc

So, the present text of Sāmba-p 3 6 (aditer dvādaśaḥ putro viṣṇuh etc) must be due to a revision made according to the list of the names of the twelve Ādityas as given in Sāmba-p 51 (verses 66-67 and 162-170) in which Viṣṇu is assigned the twelfth place. We shall see hereafter that chap 51 of the Sāmba-p. was a later addition

were coming under the influence of wine they were drinking. This was a great opportunity for Nārada. He went to Sāmba and told him that he was wanted by his father immediately. Sāmba hastened to Vāsudeva and stood before him. At the sight of Sāmba all of Vāsudeva's wives, except three, namely, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā and Jāmbavatī, became extremely passionate. At this moment Nārada went there. As Vāsudeva's wives stood up to receive the sage, signs of their extreme passion became prominent on their dress. Vāsudeva understood their mental condition and cursed them all, except the above-mentioned three, to be unable to pass to the region of their husband after his death and to be forcibly carried away by robbers. (Here the Purāṇa states that after Vāsudeva's death, his wives were carried away by some 'thieves of the land of five rivers' even before the eyes of Arjuna). Vāsudeva did not spare Sāmba but cursed him to become an ugly leper. Sāmba immediately became so, and Nārada went away. (Here the Purāṇa informs us that 'later on, being impelled by destiny and by the recollection of the previous event, Sāmba enraged the sage Durvāsas again in the same way and had his family exterminated by a *musala* born as a result of the sage's curse').¹⁵—(Chap. 3). Being thus cursed by his father, Sāmba pleaded innocent, and Kṛṣṇa advised Sāmba to take recourse to Nārada for remedy. In accordance with this advice Sāmba met Nārada at Dvāravatī when the latter came there to see 'Viṣṇu' (i. e. Vāsudeva) on another occasion, and requested him to name the highest deity who deserved adoration of all gods and to whom he could take recourse for getting rid of the curse. Nārada described his visit to the Sūrya-loka (Solar region), where he found the Sun attended by the gods, Yakṣas Gandharvas, Apsarases etc., by the three Vedas incarnate, by the sages who were reciting the Vedic hymns of praise, by the three Samdhyās incarnate, Ādityas, Vasus, Maruts and Aśvins, by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, by the Sun's two wives Rājñī and Nikṣubhā who remained at his

15 Sāmba-p. 3. 52-53—

sāmbena punar apy evam durvāsāḥ kopito munih/
bhāvyenārthena cātyartham pūrvānusmaraṇena vai//
prāptavān sumahacchāpam sāmbo vai manujottamah/
tac-chāpān musalam jātam kulam yenāsyā pātitaṃ//

sides, by Piṅgala, the recorder of good and bad deeds of creatures,¹⁶ by Danda-nāyaka, by Rājñā¹⁷ and Stosa,¹⁸ by Kalmāsa (i. e. Yama) and Paksin (i. e. Garuda) who were stationed at the gate, by the four-horned (or four-peaked—catuḥ-śṅga) god Vyoman who resembled the Meru, and by the naked Dindī.¹⁹ He spoke on the greatness of the Sun and advised Sāmba to take recourse to this deity who pervaded the universe and was eulogised by Brahmā and other gods.—(Chap. 6). Consequently, Sāmba started, with his father's permission, from the northern shore of the sea (?),²⁰ reached the 'great river (mahānadī)

16 Sāmba-p 6 21b reads 'pingalo devakah,' but in the corresponding line the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 76. 13) reads 'pingalo lekhakah' That the reading of the Bhaviṣya-p is the correct one is evidenced by Sāmba-p. 16. 6b-7a, in which Piṅgala is described as being engaged by the Sun in recording the good and bad deeds of all beings See also Sāmba-p 7. 2 for the same function of Piṅgala.

In Viṣṇudh. III. 67 5 7 also Piṅgala is described as 'atipiṅgala,' 'uddipta-veśa,' 'lekhanī-patra-kara' and 'carma-śūla-dhara'

17-18 In Bhav I 76 13b and 18, which correspond to Sāmba-p. 6 22a and 7 3a respectively, these two names are given as Rājā and Śrosa But in Bhav I 124 13 and 22-24a these names occur as Rājñā and Srausa, the latter name being said to have been derived from the root 'sru' used in the sense of motion See also Bhav. I. 143. 40a in which the names are given as Rājñā and Srausa Bhav. I. 130. 52b wrongly gives the former name as 'Rājñā.'

Sāmba-p. 36. 39 gives the names as 'Rājan' and 'Tosa.'

In the Avesta Rashnu ('justice') and Sraosha ('obedience') have been mentioned as divine beings and companions of Mithra.

19 In the Sāmba-p. (6. 23, 7. 4, and 16. 25) Dindī is described as 'naked' (nagnah, nagnakah); but in Bhav. I 76. 14 and 19 and I. 124 1, which correspond to Sāmba-p. 6 23 (dindir nagno 'gratas tasya), 7. 4 (ko dindir nagnako yaś ca etc), and 16. 25 (.. .. . samtisthatī yas tu nagnah.. ..) the words 'rathā', 'agratah' and 'magnah' are found in place of 'nagnah' and 'nagnakah' of the Sāmba-p.

On the other hand, in Bhav. I. 124. 3 and 7 (=Sāmba-p. 16. 26 and 31 respectively) Rudra is described as naked (nagna).

20 The text of Sāmba-p 24. 5-6 runs as follows:—

anujñātaḥ sa kṛsnena sindhor uttara-kūlataḥ/
jñātvā samtārayāmāsa candrabhāgām mahānadīm//
tato mitravanam gatvā tīrtham trailokya-viśrutam/
upavāsa-kṛśaḥ sām̐bah kṛśo dhamanī-samtataḥ//

These verses are the same as Bhav. I. 127. 6-7 The Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'gatvā' for 'jñātvā,' and 'upavāsa-parah' for 'upavāsa-kṛśah.'

Candrabhāgā', thence went to the famous holy place Mitravana, emaciated his body there with fasts, and eulogised the Sun, who lived in the solar orb as an extremely effulgent Puruṣa, comprised all gods and the universe, was the same as the Paramātmān, and was able to cure all kinds of skin diseases and physical defects. The Sun was pleased to confer devotion on Sāmba and to cure his leprosy. He asked Sāmba to establish an image of the Sun on the bank of the Candrabhāgā, and granted a boon that the town, thus created, would be known after Sāmba, and promised to appear daily to Sāmba in dream,—(Chap. 24). Now, once, after attaining his former physical beauty, Sāmba went, as usual, to have his bath in the Candrabhāgā which was 'not very far' from his hermitage and found that an image of the Sun was being carried by the current with its face turned upwards. Sāmba brought this image to his hermitage, established it in a part of Mitravana, and asked it by whom it was constructed. The image related its history in the following way. When, in times of yore, the Sun's brightness became unbearable to all creatures, he was requested by the gods to make himself endurable. Consequently, at his command Viśvakarman mended his form by placing him on a lathe in Śāka-dvīpa. Afterwards Viśvakarman made this image with the Kalpa-vṛkṣa, took it to the Himalayas, and sent it down the Candrabhāgā for the sake of Sāmba. The image assured Sāmba that the Sun would always remain present at that place. On hearing this from the image and seeing the Sun with his own eyes, Sāmba built a temple (deva-grha) for the image and approached Nārada for his advice regarding the selection of the best Brahmin priests for its worship. Nārada decried the Devalaka Brahmins of Jambu-dvīpa, because they lived on the property of the images they worshipped, denounced the Mānava Śāstra (the Code of Manu),²¹ and were degraded (patita) and excommunicated (apāṅkṛeya). He advised Sāmba to take recourse to the Sun for the purpose. Sāmba did so; and the Sun was pleased to advise him to bring the Magas

21 Cf. Sāmba-p. 26. 23b—garhitam mānavam śāstram na praśaṃsanti te dvijāḥ. This line does not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p. It is highly probable that in this line the original reading for 'garhitam' was 'garhanti.'

from Sāka-dvīpa which was situated on the other side of the salt-ocean and was encircled by the ocean of milk, and where the people were divided into four castes, viz, Maga, Māmaga, Mānasa and Mandaga²² corresponding respectively to the Brahmīns, Ksatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras of Jambu-dvīpa but having no mixed caste among them. The people of Sāka-dvīpa, who were born of the Sun's energy (tejas) and to whom the four Vedas were given by the Sun, worshipped the Sun by citing Vedic hymns and wore Avyāngas²³. The image added that the Sun was worshipped as Viṣṇu in Śveta-dvīpa, as Mahēśvara in Kuśa-dvīpa, as Brahmā in Puskara-dvīpa, and as Bhīṣaka in Sāka-dvīpa. Being thus advised by the image Sāmba saw his father at Drāvaṇī, mounted Garuḍa and went to Sāka-dvīpa, whence he brought to Mitravana on the bank of the Candrabhāgā eighteen families of Magas, who worshipped the Sun and performed *śānti-homas* for the people.—(Chap. 26).

22. Sāmba p 26 30 31.

The text of these verses, as given by Nagendra Nath Vasu in his *Castes and Sects of Bengal*, IV, p 9, has 'Masaga' for 'Māmaga'.

In Bhav (Vent at ed.) I 139. 74-75 the names of these four castes of Sāka-dvīpa are given as Maga, Magaga, Gānaga (or Mānasa) and Mandaga. These verses, as quoted by Nagendra Nath Vasu in his *Castes and Sects of Bengal*, IV, p 9), give the names as Mapa, Masaga, Mānasa and Mandaga (or Mandaga), while according to Aufrecht's Ms of the Bhavīśya-p, the names are Maga, Magasa, Mānasa and Mandaga (see Bod. Cat. p. 33).

Mahābhārata VI (Bhishma-parvan) 11. 36-38 have the names as Maga (or Manga), Maśaka, Mānasa and Mandaga, Viṣṇu-p. II 1 69-70 have them as Mrga (but 'Maga' in some Mss), Māgadha, Mānasa and Mandaga, and the Brahma-p, which incorporates many of the chapters of the Viṣṇu-p, including chap. 4 of Viṣṇu p II, gives the names as Maga, Māgadha, Mānasa and Mandaga (see Brahma-p. 20. 71).

One of the Mss of the Sāmba-p. described by Haraprasad Shastri has Maga, Māgasa, Mānasa and Mandaga (see Shastri, ASB Cat, V, p. 753. No. 1092).

Greek historians, such as Herodotus and Strabo, mention the warlike Massagetæ as living in Sakatai with other clans. So, the Massagetæ seem to be the same as the 'Masaga' or 'Maśaka' Ksatriyas of Sāka-dvīpa.

23. Avyānga is a girdle originally worn by the Magi priests of ancient Persia. In the Avesta it is called Aivyāonghien.

The Sun's girdle is called 'avyānga' in Viṣṇudh. III 67. 3b (kartavyā raśanā cīṣya yāvyāngeti samjñitā).

The above-mentioned story of Sāmba's establishing an image of the Sun at Sāmbapura in Mitravana and his settling of eighteen families of Magi priests from Śāka-dvīpa for the regular worship of this image forms the nucleus of the Sāmba-p., and in connection with this main story, a few subsidiary stories of interest have been introduced into this Purāṇa for the glorification of the Sun. For instance, there are the stories of Saṃjñā's penance in the Northern Kuru country and of Viśvakarman's paring of the Sun's rays by means of a lathe. Of these, the former is narrated in Sāmba-p., chaps. 10-11 as follows.

Brahmā's son Marīci had a son named Kaśyapa and a daughter named Surūpā. Kaśyapa's son (on Diti) was Hiraṇyakaśipu, whose son was Prahlāda. Prahlāda had a son named Virocana and a daughter named Prāhlādī. This Prāhlādī was married to Viśvakarman, who was the son of Bhuvanī, daughter of Surūpā. The Sun's wife Rājñī, who is said to be the same as Dyauh, was born to Prāhlādī under the name of Saṃjñā or Sareṇu.²⁴ The Sun took a human form in order to have physical union with Saṃjñā,²⁵ and begot on her two sons, namely Vaivasvata Manu and Yama Śrāddha-deva, and a daughter named Yamī or Kālindī. Now, Saṃjñā could no longer stand the heat and brilliance of the Sun. She secretly created from her own body a female named Chāyā (called to be the same as Nikṣubhā, who, again, is identified with Pṛthivī), requested her to attend the Sun and look after Manu, Yama and Yamī, and went to her father's house. She lived there for one thousand years, and, being repeatedly asked by her father to return to her husband, she took the form of a mare and went to the Northern Kuru country. During Saṃjñā's absence Chāyā,

24 Sāmba-p. 10. 17b (sareṇur iti vikhyātā etc.). This line, as occurring in the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 79 17b) and the Skanda-p. (VII. 1. 11. 65b), reads 'surenuh' for 'sareṇuh'.

25 Sāmba-p. 10. 19c reads 'rantum vai nara-rūpena sūryo bhavan vai purā.' This line, as occurring in the Bhaviṣya (I. 79 20a) and the Skanda-p. (VII. 1. 11. 79a), reads 'na tu tām nara-rūpena sūryo ('bhāryām' according to the Skanda-p.) bhajati vai purā.'

The text of this line, as given by the Sāmba-p., is obviously wrong. Cf. Sāmba-p. 11. 4b-5a (golākāraṃ tu tadrūpaṃ dr̥ṣtvā saṃjñā vivasvataḥ/asabanti tu taḥ tejaḥ svām chāyām presya cābravīt/),

who resembled Saṃjñā fully, attended the Sun as his wife and gave birth to two sons named Śrutaśravas and Śrutakarman (of whom the former was destined to be known as Sāvarṇi Manu and the latter became the planet Śanaścara later on) and a daughter named Tapatī. Now, Chāyā was so partial to her own children that Yama could not tolerate it. Once he threatened Chāyā with his foot (pādena 'saṃtarjay-āmāsa) and was cursed by her that his foot would fall down without fail. Being afflicted in mind Yama approached the Sun with Manu and informed him of the whole matter. The Sun first minimised the severity of the curse by ordaining that worms would fall to the ground after taking flesh from his feet, and then asked Chāyā the cause of her differential treatment towards the children. But as Chāyā remained silent, the Sun understood the whole situation through meditation and was about to curse Chāyā, when the latter related the whole matter to the Sun. Being thus informed of the whole situation, the Sun approached his father-in-law Viśvakarman in rage, but the latter told him that being unable to bear the extreme brightness of his form, Saṃjñā went to a grassy wood in the Northern Kuru country and was practising severe penance there for an endurable figure of the Sun (cf. rūpārtham bhavato 'raṇye carantī sumahat tapah). Viśvakarman then intimated to the Sun that he was ready to act up to Brahmā's proposal of paring the Sun's figure, only if the latter gave his consent. The sun agreed to it gladly and had his rays cut down by means of a lathe. The Sun then met Saṃjñā in the Northern 'Kuru country in the form of a horse and had physical union with her. As a result of this union, the two Aśvins, named Nāsatya and Dasra, were born. The Sun had another son born of the earth. This son, who was named Raivata (or Revanta),²⁶ had the body of a horse and was armed with a bow and arrows. Yama ruled over the creation with justice and became Dharmarāja, Manu became a ruler and the progenitor of the line of Ikṣvāku; Yamī was transformed into the river Yamunā, Sāvarṇi Manu was destined to become a ruler in future; Śanaścara

26 The name is given as 'Raivata' and 'Revanta' in the Sām̐ba-p., but in the Bhaviṣya-p. it is given as 'Raivata', 'Revatī' and 'Revanta' (see Bhav. I. 79, verses 59, 63, 79, I 124, 31) In Viṣṇudh. III 67, 9 the name is given as 'Revanta'

became a planet ; Tapatī, who became the wife of king Saṃvaraṇa, was turned into a river of the same name in the Vindhya mountain; the Aśvins became the divine physicians; and Revanta became a noble and sanctifying deity easy to please.

The story of Viśvakarman's paring of the Sun's rays by means of a lathe is briefly this:—

As Samjñā went to her father's house and then practised austerities (in the Northern Kuru country), the Sun became favourably inclined towards her and intended to fulfil her desires. In the meantime Brahmā, being requested by the sages to save the creation from the trouble caused by the burning rays of the Sun, approached the Sun with other gods and Prajāpatis and asked him to have his figure carved out by Viśvakarman. At Brahmā's request Viśvakarman placed the Sun, with the latter's consent, on a lathe and pared his rays up to the knees. While the Sun's body was thus being cut out 'for the creation of the seasons of frost, heat and water', Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Indra, Viśvakarman and other gods, as well as the sages (viz., Bālakhilyas, Viśvāmitra and others), Vidyādhara, Nāgas etc. eulogised the Sun, and the Gandharvas (well versed in the three grāmas, viz., *śaḍja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra*) and Apsarases etc. honoured the Sun with songs, dances and musical concerts. With the rays thus mopped off Viśvakarman made a disc for Viṣṇu and various missiles for other gods. The Purāṇa adds that as the Sun's rays were pared up to his knees, his feet are always kept under a cover.—(Chaps. 12-15).

Another story may be mentioned here.

Once Brahmā and other gods found out that it was only through the boons of the compassionate Sun that the demons became powerful enough to trouble the gods. So, they decided to be devoted to the Sun and to surround him in such a way that the demons might not see him. Accordingly, Indra stood, under the name of Daṇḍanāyaka,²⁷ on the left side of the Sun and was engaged by the latter to rule over the world with his daṇḍa (sceptre) and nīti (science of politics), Agni, who took his stand on the right side of the Sun, was known as Piṅgala due to his tawny colour and was engaged in record-

27 Daṇḍanāyaka is named as Dandin in Viṣṇudh III 67. 5.

ing the good and bad deeds of all creatures, the two Aśvins stood on two sides of the Sun; Kārttikeya and Hara stood 'at the eastern gate' under the names of Rājña and Stoṣa respectively²⁸, Yama and Garuḍa assumed the names of Kalmāṣa and Pakṣin respectively (because the former was kalmāṣa i.e. variegated, and the latter had wings) and stood, with two asses,²⁹ at the gate, which was thus rendered inaccessible; on the south, stood Citragupta (the officer of Yama) and Kāla under the names of Jāṇḍakāra and Māṭhara³⁰ respectively, on the west, stood Varuṇa and Śāgara under the names of Prāpnuyāna and Kṣutāpa³¹ respectively, on the north, stood Kuvera and Vināyaka, the latter having the form of an elephant; and on the east, stood Revanta, and Rudra under the name of Dīṇḍi. Thus the Sun's attendants were 'eighteen in number'. In order to prevent the demons these attendants as well as the Vedic hymns assumed various forms and surrounded the Sun with missiles in their hands.—(Sāmba-p. 16. 1-24).

28 Sāmba-p 16. 8a reads 'pūrva-dvāre sthitau tasya rājña-stosau mahābalau'; but in the corresponding line the Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'dvāra-pālau sthitau tasya rājñah śresthau mahābalau' (see Bhav I. 124 21a), there being no mention of 'pūrva-dvāra.' The reading 'rājñah śresthau' of the Bhaviṣya-p. is obviously wrong. Cf Bhav. I. 124. 22-24 where the derivative meanings of 'Rājña' and 'Stosa' (and not 'śrestha') are given. See also Bhav. I. 130 52b

29 Sāmba-p. 16 11a reads 'kharam hi duratikrāntaṃ krtvā dvāraṃ vyavasthitau,' but Sāmba-p 16. 21a reads 'sakharadvārikau jñeyau rājña-stosau tatah sthitau' With whomsoever the 'khara' (ass) may be connected, it is clear that the asses were there.

The Bhaviṣya-p has these two lines as follows. —'dvitīyāyāṃ tu kaksāyāṃ apradhrstau vyavasthitau' and 'tau sūrya-dvārapau jñeyau rājña-srausau tatah smrtau' (see Bhav I 124 25b and 35b).

30 The name 'Māṭhara', which may have been derived from the Avestan Māthra, is found in the Bhaviṣya-p (I 53. 1), but the name 'Jāṇḍakāra,' which also seems to have an Avestan origin, does not occur in the Bhaviṣya.

31 These two names are given respectively as 'Prāpnuyāna' and 'Ksatāya' in Sāmba-p 16 16a, as 'Prāpnuyāna' and 'Ksutāpa' in Sāmba-p 16 16b and 20a, and as 'Prāpnuyān' and 'Nuksutāya' in Sāmba-p. 29. 20a

The Bhaviṣya-p. does not contain these names

In Sāmba-p. 16 (verses 25-35) and 17, the story of Dīṇḍī is narrated as follows:—

After tearing away Brahmā's head, Rudra took the skull in his hand and went naked to Dāruvana for practising penance. At the sight of Rudra, the minds of the wives and daughters of the sages residing there became agitated. So, the sages drove Rudra away from that place. Rudra thence went to the Solar region, where the Sun's chief attendants advised him to take recourse to the Sun for getting rid of the sin committed. Rudra did so and eulogised the Sun, the result being that he became purified and was given the name 'Dīṇḍī'. The Sun advised Rudra to live in a highly sacred place on earth where he himself would live with him in company with his eighteen chief attendants as well as fourteen others. The Sun also conferred divine knowledge on Rudra, gave the name of Avimukta-kṣetra to the place where Rudra practised austerities for attaining the Sun's favour, and assured Rudra that those people, who would bow down to Rudra and the Sun at that place having the measurement of a krośa, would become sinless.

Besides these stories, there are also others which are no less interesting and important than those already mentioned. For instance, in chaps. 42-43 the story of the establishment of the Sun's image in the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean is given as follows:—

'After Sāmba had brought the Yājakas and had a temple constructed for the Sun', the gods, sages, Siddhas, men and others heard of 'Mitravana' (Mitra's forest) and at once came to this 'penance-forest' (tapovana) which was situated on the shore of the salt-ocean and was made by Viśvakarman. Being thanked by Nārada for enabling him to see the Sun's 'penance-forest' (tapovana) which was furnished with an eternal image of this god, Sāmba approached the Sun and was advised by the latter not to be proud of his glorious deed. Moreover, the Sun narrated the story that in ancient times some sages performed austerities there for many centuries, became the creators of this place through the Sun's favour, and thereby attained great fame for a Manvantara. Now, once the sages, Siddhas, Gandharvas and others, who lived in the Sun's penance-forest (tapovana, also called Sūrya-

kānana) situated on the shore of the salt-ocean and worshipped him in various ways, stood in wait for his rise, eulogising him all the while. At dawn they were surprised to see that the Sun made the ocean, the sky and the earth red by means of his rays and appeared simultaneously in the sky and in the ocean. There was yet another form of the Sun which remained in water. Manus recovered it by entering the ocean, placed it in the 'tapovana', and cited hymns in its praise. On Manus' enquiry as to who constructed it and how it came to that place the image replied that after being constructed by Viśvakarman and worshipped by the gods for the good of the world, it was placed on the Kalpavrksa in the Himalayas, whence it passed successively through the rivers Candrabhāgā, Vaipāśa, Śāradrava, Yamunā, Jāhnavī (also called Bhāgīrathī) and Modagangā³² until it reached the salt-ocean. The image also asked Manus to establish itself. Consequently, Vaivasvata Manu had a temple built for it, and the gods eulogised it, named it as Mundita and Mundīra after being initiated by it to Sun-worship, and established the Sun in three (?) different places.³³

In chap. 45 the story of the origin of shoes and umbrellas is narrated thus . —

Once Jamadagni began to shoot arrows playfully, and his wife Renukā was engaged in collecting them. When, at mid day, the earth became extremely hot due to the burning rays of the Sun, Renukā delayed in fetching the arrows thrown by Jamadagni. Understanding Renukā's difficulties Jamadagni became so angry with the Sun that the latter appeared before the former in the form of a Brahmin and appeased him by handing over a pair of shoes and an umbrella for Renukā's use.

32 The reading 'modagaṅgā-mahānadau' in Sāmba-p. 43 32b (bhāgīrathito vijñeyā modagaṅgā-mahānadau) is obviously wrong. It should be 'modagaṅgā mahānadi.' Cf. the adjective 'vijñeyā' and also the line 'tasmād vai modagaṅgāyāḥ pravistā lavanodadhīm' (Sāmba-p. 43 33b) which shows that from the Modagaṅgā the Sun's image did not pass into any other river before entering the sea.

It is needless to repeat that the present edition of the Sāmba-p. is full of mistakes.

33 Cf. sthāpayitvā ravim bhaktyā triṣṭhānesu surottamāḥ.—Sāmba-p. 43. 36b

In addition to the above-mentioned stories, the following topics have been introduced into this Purāna for the effective glorification of the Sun:—

The Sun's creation of Prajāpatis and various kinds of creatures in the form and capacity of Brāhmā, and his division of himself into twelve parts and birth from Aditi as twelve Ādityas, viz., Indra, Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvāṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu, Amśu, Varuna and Mitra, of whom Indra ruled over the gods, Dhātṛ became a Prajāpati and created beings, Parjanya remained in clouds, Pūṣan resided in food and nourished the created beings, Tvāṣṭṛ remained in trees, plants and herbs, Aryaman resided in the bodies of animals for facilitating the movement of air, Bhaga remained in the earth as well as in bodies, Vivasvat dwelt in fire and helped digestion, Viṣṇu, the ninth form of Citrabhānu,³⁴ became the slayer of the enemies of gods, Amśumān resided in air and gladdened the creatures, Varuṇa resided in water contained in the sea and enlivened the whole world which depends on water, and Mitra, the twelfth form of the Sun (Bhānu), resided on the bank of the Candrasarī for the good of the world, performed austerities there by living on air, and favoured his devotees with boons, this original place of Mitra's residence being known as Mitrasana, which was later on developed into a town by Sāmba (prścāt sāmbena nitinītam). —(Chap. 4). The origin of the visible Sun, with its shooting rays, from the Egg brought forth by Aditi; the dimension of the Sun, the names and functions of its rays in general; the names and functions of its seven principal rays and their connection with the stars and planets, which are said to have originated from the Sun, and the way in which the Sun fills the universe with its rays. —(Chap. 7). The Sun as the original source and the main stay of the universe, the absolute necessity of the Sun for the measurement of time, the performance of Vedic sacrifices, and the growth of the vegetable world; and the different auspicious colours of the Sun during the different seasons. —(Chap. 8). The twelve common names

³⁴ The text reads 'Mitrabhānu' (Sāmba-p. 4. 162) But this reading is erroneous, Cf. Sāmba-p. 9. 2 and Bhavīṣya-p. 1. 74. 182 and 78. 552 (corresponding to Sāmba-p. 4. 162 and 9. 2 respectively), in which 'Citrabhānu' is given as a name for the Sun

of the Sun (viz., Āditya, Savitr, Sūrya, Mihira, Arka, Prabhākara, Mārtanda, Bhāskara, Bhānu, Citrabhānu, Divākara and Ravi), the names of the twelve Ādityas (viz., Viṣṇu, Dhātṛ, Bhaga, Pūṣan, Mitra, Indra, Varuṇa, Aryaman,³⁵ Vivasvat, Amśumat, Tvastṛ and Parjanya), the different months in which these twelve Ādityas shine, and the numbers of their rays. —(Chap. 9). The evolution of the universe according to the principles of the Sāṃkhya system, and the appearance of the Supreme Being (īśvaraṃ param) as a luminary (called Savitr) at the prayer of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara and others who were all confused by darkness. —(Chap. 14). The origin of Vyoman (which is called 'sarva-devamaya', 'sarva-bhūtamaya' and 'sarva-śrutimaya' and whose worship is said to be equivalent to the worship of all gods) from the space of the Cosmic Egg and of the four-peaked Meru, which, like the pericarp of a lotus, formed the centre of the earth, round which the Sun moved in his chariot, and which was resorted to by the thirty-three sacrificing gods (viz., eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, eight Vasus, and two Aśvins, whose names also are given); the names of the fourteen Manus, the fourteen Indras and the Viśvedevas living during the reigns of these Manus, the seven Maruts (from whom forty-nine Maruts arose), the three Fires (whose sons and grandsons were forty in number), the different kinds of years, the nine planets (with the mention of their nature, their origin, their relative position, their dimensions, and their distance from the earth),³⁶ the seven

35 Sāmba-p. 9 3b wrongly reads 'varuno yamah' for 'varuno 'ryamā.' In its corresponding line the Bhaviṣya-p (I. 78. 56a) has the latter reading. See also Sāmba-p. 9 5b and 9a for the name 'Aryaman'

36 The names of the nine planets are the following —Āditya, Soma, Lohitāṅga, Budha, Brhaspati, Śukra, Śanaīścara, Rāhu and Dhūmaketu. Of these, Āditya and Soma are called mandala-graha, Rāhu is called chāyā-graha, and the rest tārā-graha. Soma is chief of the nakṣatras (nakṣatrādhīpati), and the Sun is graha-rāja. Among the planets the Sun occupies the lowest position (sarvesām tu grahānām vai hy adhastāc carate raviḥ—18 48b), and above it the other planets and the different mandalas are situated, one above the other, in the following order:—Soma, (nakṣatra-mandala), Budha, Bhārgava, Angāraka, Brhaspati, Śanaīścara, (ṛṣi-mandala), and (Dhruva), Rāhu moves mostly in the Āditya-mandala but sometimes traverses the path of Soma (āditya-nīlaye rāhuḥ kadācit soma-mārgagah—18. 51b), and Ketu always remains in the Sūrya-mandala. The

lokas (viz., *bhūh*, *bhuvaḥ*, *svaḥ*, *mahaḥ* etc., which are said to be contained in Vyoman), and the eight classes of demi-gods.—(Chap. 18.). Geography of the earth (its seven *dvīpas*, the seven oceans, the *varṣa* mountains, etc.), the names of the fourteen *lokas*, the measurement of the mountain Meru (which is said to be golden and to be situated at the centre of the earth), and the names³⁷ and description of its four peaks.—(Chap. 19). The towns surrounding the Meru³⁸; the speed with which the Sun goes round the Meru, and the names of the different gods who worshipped the Sun at different times.—(Chap. 20). Description of the Sun's one-wheeled chariot, of which the different divisions of time were the component parts, and which was drawn by the seven metres (viz., *Gāyatrī*, *Trīṣṭubh*, *Jagatī*, *Anuṣṭubh*, *Pañkti*, *Bṛhatī* and *Uṣṇīḥ*) in the forms of seven horses and was attended by the gods, *Ādityas*, sages, *Gandharvas*, *Apsarases*, snakes, *Rākṣasas* etc.; the names of those gods, *Ādityas*, and others who, with their followers, attended the Sun's chariot in the different seasons of the year (the spring season consisting of *Caitra* and *Vaiśākha*); and the way in which the Sun nourished

dimension (*vistāra*) of the Sun is 9000 *yojanas*, and the measurement of its mandala is thrice its dimension, the dimension (*vistāra*) of the Moon is twice that of the Sun, and its mandala is thrice its dimension; the dimension of *Bhārgava* (i.e. *Śukra*) is one sixteenth of that of the Moon, the dimension of *Brhaspati* is less by one fourth than that of *Bhārgava*; the dimension of *Kuja* (i.e. *Maṅgala*) is less by one fourth than that of *Brhaspati*; and the dimension of *Budha* is less by one fourth than that of *Kuja*. The *rkṣas* (stars) have generally the same dimension as that of *Budha*, and there is no star having a dimension less than half a *yojana*. *Rāhu* is equal in dimension to the Sun, but the expanse of *Ketu* is not fixed (*anīyataḥ*).—*Sāmba p.* 18 41ff

It should be noted here that *Sāmba-p.* chap. 18 has many verses in common with *Devī-p.*, chaps. 46 and 47.

37 The names of the four peaks of the Meru are the following:—*Saumanasa* (which is golden), *Jyotiska* (which has the color of rubies), *Citra* (which abounds in all kinds of metals), and *Cāndramasa* (which is white and silvery).—*Sāmba-p.* 19. 20ff.

38 *Amarāvati* (capital of Indra) was situated on the east of the Meru, *Yamanī* (the city of Yama) on its south, *Sukhā* (the city of Varuna) on its west, and *Vibhāvati* (the city of Soma) on its north.—*Sāmba-p.* 20. 21ff.

the gods and Pitrs with nectar communicated through the moon developed by his ray called Susumnā, and men and other creatures by means of water drawn up with his rays and poured down as rain.—(Chap. 21). Consumption of fifteen digits of the moon by the gods and Pitrs during the dark half of the month; the moon's entrance, with its sixteenth digit, into the Sun in the morning, into trees and planets at mid-day, and into water in the evening during the new-moon day, and its nourishment by the Sun during the bright half of the month; the names of two kinds of Paurṇamāsī and Amāvāsyā, and the names of the gods who consume fourteen digits of the moon during the dark half of the month.—(Chap. 22). Description of solar eclipse, in which the Sun is not really eaten up by Rāhu (who is described as 'tamomaya'), but the fact is that when on a new-moon day (amāvāsyā) Rāhu approaches the Sun for having his share of nectar from the moon which enters the Sun on that day, he covers the Sun as well as the moon which intervenes between the Sun and Rāhu,³⁹ description of lunar eclipse, during which Rāhu approaches the moon on the full-moon day (pūrṇimā) with the same purpose and covers it with the shadow of the earth.—(Chap. 23). Description of the Magas as those who used to meditate on the syllable 'म', and of the Yājakas as those who worshipped the Sun by burning incense, offering garlands and various other articles, and muttering *mantras*, the aim of the Magas and the Yājakas being the attainment of final emancipation (mokṣa) through service (karma-yoga) to the Sun who resides in the phenomenal Sun and is both 'sakala' and 'niṣkala'.—(Chap. 27). Acquirement of jñāna through the practice of *yoga* (which consists of prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, pratyāhāra and dhyāna), attainment of Sūrya-mandala (solar region) through *yoga* by those who are given to Traividya-siddhānta as well as by those who are versed in Sūrya-siddhānta (also called Āditya-siddhānta).—(Chap. 28). Characteristics of the Sun's images.⁴⁰ Construction of Sun-temples, in

39 Cf. 'ataś chādayate rāhur abhravac chaśi-bhāskarau' (Sāmba-p. 23. 33a), and 'adho rāhuh parah somah somād ūrdhvam divākarah' (Sāmba-p. 23. 32a).

40 It has already been noted that in connection with the description of the characteristics of the Sun's images the Sāmba-p. (29 2-3a, 5b and 6b) says, "In ancient times there was no image (of the Sun); the Sun was worshipped in a

connection with which the following topics have been dealt with:— selection and preparation of the site for the temple; placing of the Sun's image with its face turned very often towards the east and in rare cases towards the west; position of the *snāna-grha* and the *agni-hotra-grha*; and position of Sambhu and Mātṛs, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Nikṣubhā, Rājñī, Piṅgala, Dandanāyaka, Śrī and Mahāśvetā (i.e. Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī respectively), the Aśvins, Rājña and Stoṣa, Kalmāṣa and Pakṣin, Jāndaka and Māṭhara, Prāpnuyāna and Kṣutāpa,⁴¹ Kuvera and Soma, Revanta and Vināyaka, Vyoman, and Dindī.⁴² Drawing

circle. The Sun, worshipped by his devotees in early days, was circular, just as there is the disc (of the Sun) in the sky.. ...No rule is (to be observed) in the case of those images which are (worshipped) in (private) houses;.... .. the examination of an image is to be made in case it is placed in a temple."

41 Though Sām̐ba-p 29, 20a reads 'prāpnuyānuksutāyau', the names are Prāpnuyāna and Kṣutāpa —See footnote 31 above.

42 The text of Sām̐ba-p 29 13b-24b (on the position of the Sun's attendants) is as follows:—

nityaṃ prānmukham arkasya kadācit paścimāmukham/
sthāpanīyaṃ grhe samyak prānmukhe sthāna-kalpanā//
bhavanād dakṣiṇe pārsve raver snāna-grham smṛtam/
agni-hotra-grham kāryam raver uttarataḥ śubham//
udānmukham bhavet chāmbhor mātṛnām ca grhottamam/
brahmā paścimataḥ sthāpyo viṣṇuḥ uttaratas tathā//
nikṣubhā dakṣiṇe pārsve rave rājñī tu vāmataḥ/
piṅgalo dakṣiṇe bhānor vāmato dandanāyakaḥ//
śrī-mahāśvetayoh sthānam purastād amśumālīnāḥ/
tataś ca aśvinau dvāri pūjā-karma-grhād bahih//
dvitīyāyām tu kaksāyām rājña-stosau vyavasthitau/
tṛtīyāyām tu kaksāyām sthitau kalmāsa-pakṣinau//
jāndako māṭharaḥ sthāpyo dakṣiṇām diśam āsthitau/
prāpnuyān-nuksutāyau tu paścimām diśam āsthitau//
udīcyāmi sthāpanīyas tu kuveraḥ soma eva ca/
uttareṇaiva tābhyām tu revantaḥ savināyakaḥ//
yad raver vidyate sthānam caturdīkṣu tu tatra vā/
arghāya mandale dve vai kārye savyāpasavyataḥ//
dadyād udaya-velāyām argham sūryāya dakṣiṇe/
uttare maṇḍale dadyād argham astam gate ravau//
caturasram catuḥ-śṛṅgam vyoma deva-grhāgrataḥ/
pratimā-pāda-sūtreṇa kāryam madhyasya mandalam//
dindīḥ sthāpyaḥ puras tasmād ādityābhimukhas tathā//

of three circles (mandala) for the offer of materials of worship at Sunrise, at mid-day and at Sun-set.—(Chap. 29). Seven kinds of images (so far as their materials are concerned), viz., kāñcanī (made of gold), rājatī (made of silver), tāmri (made of copper), pārchivī (earthen), śailajā (made of stone), vārksī (wooden) and ālekhyā (painted), directions about the construction of wooden images (viz., selection of trees for the construction of images; time and method of worship of the trees selected; method of cutting down the trees, effects of the fall of the trees in particular directions, heights and measurements of the different limbs of the images, dresses of the images, viz., avyaṅga, *pada-bandha* etc.; and so on).—(Chaps. 30-31) Method of consecration (of the Sun's image), which is free from Tantric elements and in which Vedic and Purāṇic *mantras* only are to be used.—(Chap. 32). Directions about the making of flags and flag-staffs for different deities (viz., Viṣṇu, Īśvara i.e. Śiva, Brahmā, Ravi, Jalādhipa i.e. Varuna, Dhanada, Kārttikeya, Heramba i.e. Gaṇeśa, Devarāja, Yama and

The important variations in readings in these lines as occurring in the Bhaviṣya-p. (l 130. 47b-56 and 59-60a) are the following —

'sammukham' (for 'prānmukham' in line 1); 'sthāpanīyam grham samyak prānmukhasthānakalpanāt' (for line 2), 'nimbas tu' (for 'niksubhā' in line 7), 'tataḥ sthāpyāśvinoḥ sthānam pūrvadevagrthād bahih' (for line 10), 'rājñasrausau' (for 'rājñastosau' in line 11), 'jāndakāmacarau (v. l. jānuḥkāmācarau) sthāpyau daksinām diśam āsthitau' (for line 13), 'kuvero loka-pūjitaḥ' (for 'kuverah soma eva ca' in line 15); 'yatra vā vidyate sthānam diksu sarvā guhādayah' (for line 17), 'pratimāyās tu sūtrenā kāryam madhye 'sya mandalam' (for line 22), line 14 (prāpnuyānnūksutāyau tu etc) does not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p

It is to be noted that in Sām̐ba-p., chap 16, wherein the position of the attendants of the Sun has been given, there is mention neither of Śrī and Mahāśvetā nor of Soma, and the position of the Aśvins and Revanta is different. Mahāśvetā is, however, mentioned in Sām̐ba-p 32 32 and 38. 39 and Soma is included in chap 36 (verse 41b) among the attendant deities of the Sun.

According to Viṣṇudh III. 67 the names and position of the attendants of the Sun are as follows:—Dandin (i.e. Daṇḍa-nāyaka), Dharma in the form of a lion, and the banner (dhvaja)—on the left of the Sun; Pingala—on the right; the Sun's four sons (viz., Revanta, Yama and the two Manus) as well as his four wives (viz., Rājñī, Niksubhā, Chāyā and Suvarcasā)—on both sides. The Sun, who is the king of planets, may also be surrounded by other planets.

Durgā), the tops of these flags being furnished with the figures (which may either be made of gold, silver or gems, or be painted) of the animals which serve as the carriers of the respective deities; method of furnishing temples with flags —(Chap. 33). Method of performing the annual worship (*sāṃvatsarī pūjā*) and the annual car-festival (*ratha-yātrā*)⁴³ of the Sun with the use of Vedic and Purāṇic *mantras* (there being no Tantric element); performance of the rite for the pacification of planets (*graha-śānti*) in case the car was damaged while being drawn.—(Chap. 34). Mental performance of the car-festival by the devotees, who are to have their heads always shaved.—(Chap. 35). Offer of incense by raising the vessel, first to the atmospheric Sun and then to his image and his attendants and other atmospheric deities (viz., Rājñī, Nīkṣubhā, Daṇḍanāyaka, Piṅgala, Rājñā,⁴⁴ Stoṣa,⁴⁵ Kalmāṣa, Garutmat, the quarter-deities, Dīṇḍī,⁴⁶ Revanta,⁴⁷ Indra, Yama,

43 The car-festival was performed in the following way:—A car was constructed with gold, silver or hard wood, and fitted with good and well-decorated (artificial) horses. The image of the Sun was placed in it and duly worshipped with the performance of sacrifice to the Sun. The car was then drawn by men or bulls. At the end of the festival Brahmins were gratified with various kinds of food, and *śānti-homa* was performed.

The Sām̐ba-p. (34. 14-17a) says that the car of the Sun, which was originally made by Brahmā with the different divisions of a year as its component parts, and in imitation of which Viśvakarman constructed cars for other gods, was introduced in the world of mortals by Ikṣvāku to whom it was given by Varasvata Manu.

44-45 In Sām̐ba-p. 36. 39a these two names are wrongly given as Rājan and Toṣa (*tato rājñe ca toṣāya kalmāsāya garutmata*). In other places of the Sām̐ba-p. the names Rājñā and Stoṣa are found. Bhav. I 143. 40a, which corresponds to Sām̐ba-p. 36. 39a, gives the names as Rājñā and Srauṣa (*tathā rājñāya srauṣāya tathesāya garutmata*).

46-47 These two names have been given as Daṇḍin and Raivanta in Sām̐ba-p. 36. 40a (*daṇḍine ca tato dadyād raivantānucarāya ca*); but in other places of this Purāṇa the names Dīṇḍī and Revanta (or Raivata) occur. Bhav. I. 143 51a, which corresponds to Sām̐ba-p. 36.40a, reads '*dīṇḍine tu tato dadyāddhemantāya yadūttama*.' The reading '*hemantāya*' is obviously a mistake for '*revantāya*.'

In the Viṣṇudharmottara (III. 67. 5) it is Daṇḍanāyaka who is named as Daṇḍin.

Jaleśa i.e. Varuna, Kuvera, Soma, and others), after summoning the Sun by falling on knees, offering flowers to him on a copper vessel by muttering the *Āditya-hṛdaya mantra*, and worshipping the Sun with the citation of Vedic and Purāṇic *mantras* — (Chap. 36). Method of burning incense (during which a fire is to be kindled, the Sun is to be summoned with a Purāṇic *mantra*, *homa* is to be performed with the citation of Vedic *mantras*, and so on), names of the sacrificial and non-sacrificial trees, the proper time for *homa*, and the persons eligible for performing *homa*. — (Chap. 37). Results of various kinds of service rendered to the Sun (viz., worship, offer of various articles to the deity, gifts to be made to Brahmins and others, salutation, fasting, etc.), characteristics of *Sūrya-bhaktas* ('bhakti' and 'śraddhā' being defined as 'manaso bhāvanā bhaktir icchā śraddhā ca kathyate'); the six mediums of worship, viz., fire, water, air, holy place, image, and pedestal for the image of a deity (there being no mention of *yantra* and *maṇḍala*).⁴⁸ — (Chap. 38). Method of initiation (which requires the selection and preparation of the ground, selection of spiritual preceptors and disciples, offer of *argha* to the Sun with the *mahāmantra*, drawing of a *maṇḍala* with the figure of a twelve-petalled lotus in it, performance of *homa* and of *tattva-nyāsa* and *mantra-nyāsa*, worship of the quarter-guardians, to some of whom fish, meat etc. are offered, and so on, the *mantras* used in connection with initiation having Tantric symbolism) — (Chaps. 39 and 41). The import of letters used as symbols in *mantras* (which have Tantric symbolism). — (Chap. 40). *Sadācāra*⁴⁹ for the Sun-worshippers. — (Chap. 44). Methods and results of observing the seven different *Saptamī Tithis*, viz., *Vijaya-saptamī*, *Kāmikā Saptamī* etc., as well as

48 Sāmba-p 38 45—

agnau toyē cāntarikse śucau bhūmyām tatharva ca/
pratimāyām tathā pīndyām dadyād argham prayatnatah//

49 In the section on *sadācāra* the following lines are noteworthy —

- (a) parismīn dandane na icchet/kruddho 'pi na hanyāt anyatra
bhāryā-putra-dāsa-dāsī-śisya-bhrātrbhyah/
- (b) prātar utthāya pītaram ācāryam abhivādayet/
- (c) vrddho 'gatir avasanno mitrāṇi śuka-sārikāh/
pārāvatāh punyakrtām gehe syus tailapāyikāh//

the twelve *Sukla Saptamīs*.—(Chap. 46). Method of Sun-worship with the performance of *nyāsas* and *mudrās* and the citation of *mantras* which have Tantric symbolism; method of performance of different kinds of *mudrās*; dissertation on the formation and import of *bījas* used in *mantras* (with classification of all the letters of the alphabet); performance of *abhicāra*; rites to be performed at the time of *saṁnyāsa*; method of practising *yoga*; and so on.—(Chaps. 47-83). Results of actions (*karma-vipāka*); gifts to be made to the reader (*pāṭhaka*) of the *Sāmba-p.* for the pleasure of the Sun.—(Chap. 84).

Besides the above-mentioned topics the *Sāmba-p.* contains a number of hymns (*stava*) in praise of the Sun.⁵⁰ It also contains the etymological meanings of the following:—

(1) The epithets *Āditya*, *Aja*, *Mahādeva*, *Īsvara*, *Brahmā*, *Bhava*, *Prajāpati*, *Puruṣa*, *Svayambhū*, *Hiraṇyagarbha* and *Nārāyaṇa* as applied to the Sun (chap. 7, verses 16-21),

(2) the Sun's twelve common names⁵¹ (except *Mihira* and *Ravi*), the names of the twelve *Ādityas*,⁵² and the names *Śakra*, *Brahmā*, *Mahādeva*, *Rudra* and *Kāla* as applied to the Sun for his different functions (chap. 9, verses 15ff.).

(3) the names *Rājñī* and *Nikṣubhā* for the Sun's two wives (chap. 11, verses 54-57), and

(4) the names *Rājña*, *Stoṣa*, *Jāndakāra* and *Māṭhara* for four of the Sun's attendants (chap. 16, verses 9-10 and 14-15).

The above contents of the present *Sāmba-p.* show that the *Purāṇa* is pre-eminently a work of the Sauras whose sectarian *mantra* is 'khakholkāya namaḥ'. Herein the Sun is called the highest deity and the Supreme Brahma. He is both the individual and the supreme soul and is both one and many. While residing as *kṣetrajña* in the material body this Supreme Being, who is both personal and imper-

50 *Sāmba-p.* 12. 13ff; 13. 3ff (eulogy of *Viśvakarman*); 15. 7ff; 17. 1ff (the 'great hymn' pronounced by *Rudra* in the form of *Dindī*); 25. 5-8 (the 'stava-rāja' consisting of the twenty-one principal names of the Sun, viz. *Vikartana*, *Brahmā*, *Śrīmān* etc.)

51 These are *Āditya*, *Savitr*, *Sūrya*, *Mihira* etc., as enumerated above

52 These names (*Viṣṇu*, *Dhātṛ*, *Bhaga*, *Pūṣan* etc.) have been mentioned above.

sonal, remains formless and is not contaminated by actions or influenced by the objects of senses. When transcending the three *guṇas* he is called Puruṣa. It is he who is worshipped in different forms by gods and by men in the different stages of their life, and who pervades the universe and is its protector and regulator.⁵³

The present Sāmba-p., with its varied contents, is certainly not a unified work. Its chapters can be divided into two main groups, viz.,

- I. Chaps. 1-38, 44-46 and 84, and
- II. Chaps. 39-43 and 47-83.

That the chapters of these two groups were composed by different hands in different climes and ages, can be established by numerous evidences, the most important of which are noted below.

(1) All the chapters of the first group, except chaps. 17, 22-23 and 37, are found to occur, partly or wholly, in the Bhaviṣya-p., as the following list will show. (It is to be noted that not even a single verse of any of the chapters of the second group is found in the Bhaviṣya-p.).

Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.
Chap. 2 (except verse 21b)	= I. 66, verses 42-46, 49-63a.
" 3 (except verses 10-12, 26-27, 30b, 31b-32a, 52b, 56)	= I. 72, verses 3, 6-14a, I. 73, verses 1, 2b-10a, 14-24a, 25-41a, 43b-45, 49-50.
" 4	= I. 74, verses 1-4, 7-24, 26a, 28b-29.
" 5 (except verses 1-9a, 21a, 26a, 30b-39)	= I. 67, verses 3-6a, 7b-10, 12b-15, 25b-32a.
" 6 (except verse 12b)	= I. 75, verses 1, 3a, 4-6a, 7a, 10-13, 16-17, I. 76, verses 1-5a, 6b-8a, 10b-15.
" 7 (except verses 37, 62b-71)	= I. 76. 16b-20a; I. 77. 1-21, I. 78. 1-24a, 25b-41a.
" 8 (except verse 13b, and second half of verse 13a)	= I. 54. 2-14 (except the fourth pāda of verse 14).

53 See Sāmba-p, chaps 5, 7, 9, 14, and so on

Sāmba-p.

Bhaviṣya-p.

- Chap. 8 (except verses 11b-13) = l. 78. 43b-53b.
- „ 8, verses 1-4a, 5, 6b-7 = l. 161. 2-5 and 6b-7.
- „ 9(except verses 11a, 15-43) = l. 78. 53b-66, 67-69, 71-73, 75-84a.
- „ 10 = l. 79. 1-22a.
- „ 11 (except verses 2-12a, 39, 48b-50, 70) = l. 79. 23, 24-58, 63a, 64-79a, 78b-81a, 82b-83a.
- „ 11, verse 51a = l. 124. 32a
- „ 12 (except verses 3, 20a) = l. 121. 1-13, 15b-19a, 20b-28.
- „ 13 (except verses 9b-11) = l. 122 (except verses 8b-9).
- „ 14 (except verses 17b, 21) = l. 123. 1-19, 21b-22, 23b-34.
- „ 15 (except verses 16, 26) = l. 123. 36-40a, 41a, 42a, 43b-44a, 45-46a, 53-56a, 46b-49a, 51a, 56b-57, 58-66a.
- „ 16 (except verses 14-16, 19b-20a, 33) = l. 124. 1-10, 13-15a, 16 24a, 25b-28, 31, 34-38, 40.
- „ 18 (except verses 2b-8, 20a, 32) = l. 125. 2, 4, 7-25a, 26b-38a, 39-63a, 64b-71.
- „ 19 (except verses 2-3, 15a) = l. 126. 1, 3-6a, 7-9a, 10b-28
- „ 20 (except verses 1-4, 7b-8, 15-16) = l. 53. 35b-44, 45b-51a.
- „ 21 (except verses 4b, 29a, 38b-39, 40b, 42b, 52-53, 58) = l. 52. 8-23, 24b-25a, 28-45a, 46-49a, l. 53. 10-13a, 21-35a.
- „ 24 (except verses 17b, 34b-36a) = l. 127. 3-9, 10b-27a, 28-29a, 30-36a.
- „ 25 = l. 128.
- „ 26 (except verses 15, 22b, 23, 50a) = l. 129. 1-2, 4, 6a, 7b-17a, l. 139. 1-9a, 10b (first half), 70a (second half), 70b-81, 83-97.
- „ 27 (except verses 5, 19a) = l. 140. 20-23, l. 144. 9b-16a, 17-24, 25b-26.
- „ 28 = l. 145. 2-7, 8b-21, 22b-24, 26, 25, 27.
- „ 29 (except verses 1-7, 20a) = l. 130. 42-56, 59-60a, 63b.

Sāmba-p.

Bhaviṣya-p.

- Chap. 30 (except verses 28b-29 and 31b) = I. 131. 1a, 2-3a, 10b-13a, 5-10a, 19-20, 23-26, 27b-30, 36-41, 46-47.
- „ 31 = I. 132. 1-24.
- „ 32 (except verses 13, 36b, 39a, 43-44, 49-50a, and 62) = I. 133. 1a; I. 135. 6b-8, 9b-16, 20b 27a, 51-52a; I. 136. 2-7a, 9b-11a, 25b-26a, 37b-52a, 67-73, 75b-79a, 82, I. 137. 1-2.
- „ 33 = I. 138. 1a, 2-4, 21b-22a, 34a, 35-36a, 37-38a, 53a, 40b, 47, 39a, 41b, 64-69a, 70a, 71a, 72a, 73a, 76.
- „ 34 (except verses 1-3, 10b, 72) = I. 55. 23b-25, 28b-29a, 30b, 31b-32, 36b-37a, 39a, 48b-50a, 51-54a, 55b-65a, 66b-75; I. 56. 7b-29a, 30-31, 47-51a; I. 57. 27b, 31a, I. 58. 1a, 2, 18-20a.
- „ 35 (except verses 1b, 2b) = I. 58. 22b, 23-29, 30b-31a, 32b-37a, 38-45.
- „ 36 (except verses 1, 4b, 10b-11a, 30, 40b-44) = I. 143. 5b-13, 14b-41a, 46-55a.
- „ 38 (except verses 1-3a, 4b-16a, 21a, 24-26a, 33-35a, 36b-39, 40b-46a, 47b-48a, 50, 52b, 55b-56) = I. 80. 2, 9-11, 14, 16-18; I. 81. 2-3, 15b-16a; I. 82. 3a, 6a; I. 93. 1, 3-5a, 7, 9a, 15b-16a, 26a, 28, 30, 32a, 42a, 64, 66.
- „ 46 (except verses 1-3a, 4b-5a, 9b, 22b-23a, 25b-26a, 27b-28a, 38-39) = I. 208. 6, 4-5, 7-16a, 17-18a, 21-23a, 24a, 23b, 27a, 28-35; I. 209. 1-5a, 6b-12a, 13b-14a, 15b-16a.
- „ 84, verses 1-2a, 3 = I. 120. 1a, 2b-3a, 4.

We shall see hereinafter that the Bhaviṣya-p. borrowed these chapters from the Sāmba-p.

(2) The chapters of the first group are concerned with 'Mitravana' which is said in a good number of verses to have been situated on (or very close to) the bank of the 'great river' (mahānadi) Candrabhāgā⁵⁴, a tributary of the river Sindhu in the Punjab, and in which Sāmba established a Sun-temple and the city called Sāmbapura (modern Multan).⁵⁵

The expression 'sindhōr uttata-kūlataḥ', occurring in Sāmba-p. 24. 5-6⁵⁶ which are the same as Bhav. I. 127. 6-7, must not be taken to indicate that Mitravana, mentioned in the chapters of the first group, was situated on the northern shore of the sea and was, therefore, identical with Mitravana in Orissa; because, in the chapters of the first group there is no second mention of Mitravana as being situated on the sea-coast. Moreover, in Sāmba-p. 26 10b-12⁵⁷ (which are the same as Bhav. I. 129. 13b-15) it is said that the image of the Sun, which was constructed by Viśvakarman with the Kalpa-vṛkṣa, was taken by him to the Himalayas and sent down the river Candrabhāgā, so that it might reach Sāmba who was living in Mitravana. Here it is clear that the Candrabhāgā rises in the Himalayas and is thus the same as the Candrabhāgā which is a tributary of the river Sindhu. So, Mitravana, which is said to have

54 Sāmba-p. 3. 2 (=Bhav I. 72. 6); 4 1-2a (=Bhav I 74. 1-2a), 4 20 and 23 (=Bhav. I. 74. 22 and 24 respectively; in verse 24 the Bhavisya-p wrongly reads 'mitrapadam' for 'mitravanam'); 24. 5-6 (=Bhav I 127 6-7), 24. 31 (=Bhav. I. 127. 31b-32a), 26. 2b and 4b (=Bhav. I. 129 2b and 7b); 26. 46a (=Bhav. I. 139. 90b), 26. 50 (=Bhav. I 139. 94b)

55 See the references in the immediately preceding foot-note.

56 For the text of these verses in the Sāmba-p as well as in the Bhavisya-p see foot-note 20 above

57 prityā te sāmpratam caiva sā mayā kāritam punah//
teneyam kalpa-vṛkṣāt tu nirmitā pratimā mama/
kṛtvā himavataḥ prṣṭhe puṇya-siddha-nisevite//
tvadartham candrabhāgāyām tatas tenāvatāritā/
bhavatas tāraṇārtham hi jātam sthānam idam mama//

The Bhavisya-p reads 'kṛtvā tesām prapañco 'yam sa mayā kāritam punah' for the first line; 'viśvakarmanā' for 'pratimā mama' in the second line; 'purā' for 'puṇya' in the third line, 'pratāritā' for 'avatāritā' in the fourth line; 'tataḥ' for 'jātam' in the fifth line.

been situated on this Candrabhāgā, must be the same as the Mitravana of the Punjab.

But in chaps. 42-43⁵⁸ (of the second group), the place of Sun-worship is, in all cases, said to have been situated on the shore of the salt-ocean (lavaṇodadhī),⁵⁹ and never on or near the bank of the river Candrabhāgā.

(3) In the chapters of the first group the place at which 'Mitra' and Sāmba practised austerities and the latter established a Sun-temple and a Sun-image as well as a city called Sāmbapura, is called Mitravana. But in chaps. 42-43 (of the second group) the place of Sun-worship is called the 'tapovana' (penance-forest) of the Sun (called Savitr, Bhāskara, Sūrya, Bhānu, Divākara etc. but never Mitra) in more places than one;⁶⁰ it is also called Sūrya-kānana, Ravi-ksetra and Sūrya-ksetra,⁶¹ and it is only once (viz., in Sāmba-p 42. 2) that this place is called 'Mitravana'. So, the word 'Mitravana', as occurring in Sāmba-p. 42. 2, is to be taken, like 'Sūrya-kānana', in its literal sense to mean the '(penance-) forest of Mitra', rather than a name.

(4) The chapters of the first group must have been written in Northern India (and most probably in its western part)⁶². But chaps. 42-43, which deal with the Sun's penance-forest (called *tapovana*, and also Sūrya-kānana, Ravi-ksetra and Sūrya-ksetra) situated on the

58 For the contents of these two chapters see above

59 Sāmba-p. 42. 7 and 17; 43. 1, 33 and 45 Cf. also Sāmba p. 40.9-14

60 Sāmba-p. 42. 7, 9, 12 and 26, 43. 1.

61 Sāmba-p. 43. 6, 43. 46; and 43. 50 respectively.

62 The following holy places and rivers have been mentioned in chaps. 32 (verses 1-3) and 34 (verses 1-7) in connection with the holy water with which the Sun's image is to be bathed during its consecration and annual worship. —

Puskara, Naimisa, Kuruksetra, Prthūdaka, Gangā, Sarasvatī, Sindhu, Candrabhāgā, Narmadā, Payosnī, Yamunā, Tāmra, Kṣiprā and Vetravati. It is to be noted that all these holy places and rivers (except Payosnī) belong to Northern India, especially to its western part, and that in the chapters of the first group no holy place or river (except Tapatī) of Southern India has been mentioned. It should be mentioned here that both Payosnī and Tapatī (of which the latter is said to have risen from the Vindhya-pāda and has been identified with the Sun's daughter of the same name) belong to the northernmost part of Southern India.

shore of the salt-ocean, are certainly concerned with a place very close to, or even identical with, Koṇārka in Orissa, because Koṇārka, which was situated on the sea-shore very close to the river Candrabhāgā (a small branch of the river Prācī), is called Sūrya-kṣetra, Ravi-kṣetra and Mitravana⁶³ in the Brahma-p., Ravi-kṣetra and Maitreya Vana in the Kapila-śamhitā,⁶⁴ and Sūrya-kṣetra in the Śiva-p.⁶⁵

(5) In the chapters of the first group, it is Sāmba who is said to have established at Mitravana a Sun-temple and a Sun-image as well as a city called Sāmbapura, and the image, which Sāmba established at Mitravana, is said to have been constructed by Viśvakarman, taken to the Himalayas, and sent down the river Candrabhāgā for the sake of Sāmba. But in chaps. 42-43 the history of the Sun's image, which was placed at the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean, is given as follows. An image of the Sun was constructed by Viśvakarman and worshipped by the gods. It was then placed on the Kalpa-vrkṣa in the Himalayas, whence it came down to the salt-ocean successively through the rivers Candrabhāgā, Vipāśā (i.e. Vipāśā), Śātadrava (i.e. Śatadru), Yamunā, Jāhnavī (also called Bhāgīrathī) and Modagaṅgā. Now, once the residents of the Sūrya-kānana assembled on the sea-shore in order to see the Sun-rise and found to their great surprise that the rising Sun, who reddened the sky, the ocean and the earth by means of his rays, appeared in two forms—one remaining in the sky and the other in the ocean. In water they found another form of the Sun, which Manus (and not Sāmba) recovered by entering the ocean and established in a temple which was built there for it by Vaivasvata Manu (and not by Sāmba).

(6) In verses 9-10 of chap. 42 (of the second group) the Sun's penance-forest (tapovana), situated on the shore of the salt-ocean, is said to have been made by Viśvakarman; but in the chapters of the first group there is no such statement.

63 Brahma-p 28. 10 and 17 Brahma-p 30 41 and 48, in which the name Mitravana occurs, have been taken, along with other verses, from the Sāmba-p.

64 See Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 439 Viśvakosa (a Bengali encyclopaedia, ed. Nagendra Nath Vasu), IV, pp 545-548.

65 See Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p 439.

(7) In verses 16-36 of chap. 42 (of the second group) an attempt has been made to give a garb of greater antiquity to the Sun's penance-forest by saying that before Sāmba had gone to this place, some sages of old performed austerities there for many centuries in order to please the Sun and became the creators (*srastārah*) of this place through the Sun's favour. But in the chapters of the first group there is no mention of any sages living at Mitravana before Sāmba's arrival there.

(8) In chaps. 42 and 43 there are a few instances⁶⁶ of such bad versification as is not to be found in any of the chapters of the first group.

(9) In the chapters of the first group the Vedas have been held in the highest esteem. The hymns, recited by the gods and others in praise of the Sun, are called 'vedokta' or 'veda-vedāṅga-saṃmita',⁶⁷ the three Vedas are said to attend upon the Sun;⁶⁸ the agni-hotra-gr̥ha (the house for the offer of oblations to the fire) is an unavoidable part of the Sun-temple,⁶⁹ and so on. Among these chapters there are a few (viz., chaps. 30, 32 and 34-37) which deal with the method of Sun-worship, but in none of them there is any trace of Tantric influence. In these chapters the Vedic *boma* forms an important part of the worship; the *mantras* to be used are either Vedic or Purāṇic or both,⁷⁰ and the mediums of worship (viz., fire, water, air, holy place, image, and pedestal for the image of a deity) do not include the Tantric *yantra* or *maṇḍala*.⁷¹ On the other hand, Tantric influence is very prominent in almost all the chapters of the second group. Mantras with Tantric symbolism are employed at every step, methods of drawing maṇḍalas and performing various kinds of mudrās are given, the necessity of performing nyāsas and mudrās in worship is emphasised; the word 'tantra' has been used to mean not only 'procedure' but

66 Sāmba-p 42. 34-35, 43 2a.

67 Ibid., 12. 8; 12 13, 24 7, and so on

68 Ibid., 6 15

69 Ibid., 29. 15

70 Ibid., 30 18, 32 12ff, especially verse 25; 34 30-34 and 43-49; 37. 19b (purāṇoktena mantrena); and so on.

71 Ibid., 38. 45.

also Tantric works;⁷² methods of performing abhicāra rites have been given; and so on.

(10) That the present Sāmba-p. ended with the chapters of the first group is shown by the facts that in Sāmba-p. 39.1 Bṛhadbala says to Vasiṣṭha, "O venerable Brahmin, you have made me hear, both synthetically and analytically, this imperishable and highly blissful 'Purāṇa'", and that in Sāmba-p. 39. 5 the portion of this Purāṇa beginning with chap. 39 is called the Uttara (bhāga) and is said to have been spoken out by Bhāskara.⁷³

(11) The names of the twelve Ādityas (viz., Aruṇa, Sūrya, Amṣu-mālin, Dhātṛ, Indra, Ravi, Gabhastī, Yama, Svarṇa-retas, Tvaṣṭṛ, Mitra and Viṣṇu), as given in Sāmba-p. 51. 66-67 and 162-170, do not all agree with those contained in Sāmba-p. 4.6 and 9.3ff. (In Sāmba-p. 4. 6 the names of the twelve Ādityas are given as follows:—Indra, Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣnu, Amṣu, Varuṇa and Mitra. The list, as contained in Sāmba-p. 9.3ff., agrees with that in Sāmba-p. 4. 6 in respect of the names but not of their order).

(12) Chap. 51 has borrowed many verses from chaps. 7 and 9.⁷⁴

(13) Among the chapters of the first group there are several cross-references⁷⁵ to the topics dealt with in these chapters, but there

72 Ibid., 41. 1; 51. 195, 55. 99 and 101; 57. 15; 61. 50; 68. 9; 74. 10, and so on

73 Ibid., 39 5a—purāṇasyottaram rājan yad uktam bhāskarena tu.

74 A list of these common verses is given below:—

Sāmba-p	Sāmba-p.	Sāmba-p	Sāmba-p.
51. 126-129 =	7 6-9.	51 187-191a =	7 54-55, 58b-59a, 62-63
51. 139 =	7. 19b-20a.	51. 163 =	9 19.
51. 140a —cf.	7 17b.	51. 164b-165a =	9 31.
51. 141a =	7. 16b.	51. 165b-166a =	9. 25
51. 141b =	7. 17a	51 168a =	9 38b
51. 142a =	7 18a	51. 170 =	9. 39.

75 Viz., Sāmba-p. 5. 3a refers to 4. 5-7; 7. 1-4 refer to chaps. 7-16 and 18-20, 7. 36 refers to 7. 12; 10. 4 refers to 6.20, 34 3a refers to chaps. 29-32; 34. 4b refers to chap. 32; 34 14 refers to chap. 21; 35. 2b refers to chaps. 25 and 29; 35 3b refers to 10. 4ff.; 38. 2 refers to chaps. 29-31 and 34-37; 45. 1a refers to chap. 44.

is not a single verse which refers to the topics dealt with in any of the chapters of the second group. On the other hand, in verse 14 of chap. 42 (of the second group) there is a reference to the contents of chap. 3. Hence the chapters of the second group must have been added later than those of the first group.

(14) The chapters of the first group, unlike those of the second, contain several instances of grammatical solecism, viz., the roots 'pracch', 'vas' (in the sense of residing) and 'jval' (in the sense of burning) have been used in the their Ātmanepadīya forms.⁷⁶

From the above disagreements between the chapters of the two groups it is clear that all these chapters could not be the works of the same hand nor could they belong to the same clime or age. Among the chapters of the first group, again, there are some which must have been added later. We shall now try to find them out.

Though in the concluding verse (iti muni-ṛṣabhaḥ sutāya viṣnor vidhim upadiśya ca nārado jagāma/etc.) of chap. 32 Nārada is said to have left Sāmba after giving him necessary instructions on the consecration of images of the Sun, chap. 33 opens as follows:—

'nārada uvāca—

ataḥparam pravakṣyāmi dhvajāropanam uttamam/etc.'

This disagreement between the statements about Nārada in these two chapters raises doubt in our mind about the genuineness of chap 33. This doubt is considerably strengthened by Vasiṣṭha's statement in Sāmba-p. 34. 1-2 that 'on the expiry of a complete year after Sāmba's consecration of the image of the thousand-rayed (Sun), Sāmba again approached Nārada and asked him how he was to perform the annual worship (sāmvatsarī pūjā) of the Sun'. Moreover, Sāmba-p. 34. 3a (yathoktena vidhānena pratimā-sthāpane kṛte) refers to the contents of chaps. 29-32, and Sāmba-p 34. 4b (pūrvoktena vidhānena pratimāṃ snāpayed budhaḥ) refers to chap. 32, the contents of chap. 33 being ignored totally. *Hence chap. 33 must have been added later.* But as this chapter occurs in the Bhaviṣya-p., *it must have been inserted*

⁷⁶ Sāmba-p 6. 6 ('prcchasva' for 'prccha'); 6. 12 ('prcchate' for 'prcchat'), 11. 12 ('vasamānā' for 'vasantī'), 38 38 ('jvalamānam' for 'jvalantam').

into the Sāmba-p. earlier than the time of incorporation of the chapters of the Sāmba-p. into the Bhaviṣya.

Chaps. 17, 22-23 and 44-45 do not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p., nor are they referred to by any of the remaining chapters of the Sāmba-p. Sāmba-p. 7. 1-4 refer to chaps 7-16 and 18-20, ignoring chap. 17. So, chaps. 17, 22-23 and 44-45 must be taken as later additions.

The second group is made up of a few units which might not have been written at the same time. Chaps. 39-41 form such a unit. We have already noted that according to verses 1 and 5 of chap. 39, chaps. 39ff. form a distinct part, called Uttara (-bhāga), which is not a continuation of, but is quite different from, chaps. 1-38. Towards the end of chaps. 40 and 41, the section on dīkṣā (in chaps. 39-41) is called the 'Purāṇokta Śāstra' which everybody is advised to read.⁷⁷ Hence chaps. 39-41 can safely be taken to be a distinct unit.

As regards chaps. 42-43, we have already said much on their distinct character and their connection with Mitravana of Orissa.

Chaps. 53-83 form a distinct section called Jñānottara, the name Jñānottara being mentioned in the colophons of many of these chapters. This section, which is really a Tantra, as it is called in many of its verses, is not peculiar with the printed edition only but is found in all the Mss of the Sāmba-p. hitherto discovered. Moreover, the chapters of this section are often called Paṭala (just as in the Tantric works) and numbered afresh. For instance, the colophon of chap. 53 runs as follows:—*īti sām̐bapurāṇe pūjā-vidhi-nirūpane prathamam paṭalam nāma tripañcāśattamo'dhyāyaḥ.*

Among the chaps. 53-83, there are a few, viz chaps. 53-55 (except verses 98-117 of chap. 55), which are originally Saura, but the rest prominently exhibit Śaiva influence. In these remaining

77 Sāmba-p 40 41a—

aprameyam idam śāstram purānam pūrva-coditam.

Sāmba-p. 41. 1—

nānyac chāstram samuddiṣṭam bhāṇoh pūjā-nivedane/

purāṇoktam imam rājan sarva-vedopabrambitam//

* * * *adhyetavyam idam śāstram* * * * //

Sāmba-p. 41. 7—

purāṇoktam idam śāstram * * * //

chapters (viz., chap. 55, verse 98 to chap. 83) Śiva and his *linga* have been mentioned on numerous occasions, Śiva is called Paramātmā (55. 114), and all gods are said to be 'Śivātmaka' (68. 49). Going to describe the way in which a devoted householder can attain the Śivaloka easily, chap. 69 says that the devotee should have, among other things, the following qualifications, viz., he should worship his spiritual preceptor like Śiva himself, follow the path of Śiva, and always meditate on the deity.⁷⁸ In Sāmba-p. 71. 1 Śaṅkara is called the best *bīja* and the highest deity, Sāmba-p. 77. 1 proposes to describe the means by which a devotee may attain the likeness of Śiva and his tie of bondage (*pāśa*) may be severed,⁷⁹ in Sāmba-p. 80. 10 it is said that the Yogins do not revert to rebirths after attaining the imperishable and the highest deity, namely Śiva;⁸⁰ chap 82 explains what is meant by *bhāva-linga*, emphasises the necessity of its worship with flowers in the forms of eight mental attitudes (*bhāva*, viz., *abimsā*, *indriya-nigraha*, *dhṛti*, *ksamā*, *śauca*, *akrodha*, *brī* and *satya*) for the pleasure of Śiva, and says. "One, who always worships the imperishable Śiva with these flowers, is able to see this Supreme Being by breaking open the door of ignorance";⁸¹ the tie of bondage, which subjects all creatures to rebirths, is in many places called *pāśa*,⁸² the names of Śiva occur in many of the *mantras*,⁸³ and so on. So, it is highly

78 Sāmba-p 69 1ff.—

tattvānusārena pathah kramaśo 'tīānuvarṇyate/ śiva-lokam yathā yena
praviśed grhavadgrhī// gana-mandala-tattvajñāh /
śivavad guru-pūjakah// .. śiva-mārgānusārī ca ..
... .. dhyāyaṁś ca śivam ātmastham // samtyajya .
matāni viparītāni dhyāyen nityam sadāśivam//

79 Sāmba-p 77 1—

śiva-tulyatvam asya syāt pāśa-cchedas tu yena vai/
tam ato varṇayisyāmi samskāram kramaśah param//
80 bhittvā mūrdhni kapālam tu viśaty avyayam īśvaram/
yam prāpya na nivarteta yoginah paramam śivam//

81 Sāmba-p. 82. 8b-9a—

ebhūt yas tu sadā puspair arcayec chivam avyayam/
udghātya tu tamodvāram śivam paśyen nirañjanam//

82 Sāmba-p 77. 1 and 6; 83. 12, 18 and 19; and so on

83 Sāmba-p. 55 98, 61. 18.

probable that these chapters with Śaiva influence were taken from some work of the Śaivas and adapted to the need of the Tantrik Sauras with certain modifications. That these chapters originally belonged to some other work, is shown by the fact that the introduction of Bhāskara as speaking to the inquisitive Brahmā in Sāmba-p. 55. 98ff. and of Maheśvara as speaking to Brahmā in chaps. 82-83 is made suddenly without any previous notice of the interlocutors.

The remaining chaps. 47-52 of this group must be taken to be another unit. These chapters seem to have been written at the same time.

From the above analysis it is evident that the present Sāmba-p. consists of different units mostly belonging to different climes and ages. We shall now try to determine the dates of composition of these units. But the problem of date of these units is intimately connected with the problems of mutual relation between the Sāmba-p., Bhaviṣya-p., Brahma-p. and Skanda-p. (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, 1). We shall first set ourselves to the solution of these problems.

It has already been shown that a large number of chapters is found common to the Sāmba-p. and the Bhaviṣya-p. That as regards these common chapters the Bhaviṣya-p. is the borrower, can be established by the following evidences.

(1) Regarding the Sāmba-p. the Matsya-p. (53. 61) says:—

yatra sām̐bam puraskṛtya bhaviṣye'pi kathānakam/
procyate tat punar loke sām̐bam etan munivratāḥ/ ⁸⁴

84 This verse, which agrees also with Skanda-p. VII. 1. 2. 82 (v. 1 'bhaviṣyati' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'; 'eva' for 'etat'), is found ascribed to the Matsya-p. (or Mātsya) in Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30 (v. 1 'yat tu' for 'yatra' and 'bhaviṣyan' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'), Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533 (v. 1 'bhaviṣyan' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi', 'eva' for 'etat') and II, i, p. 22 (v. 1 'bhaviṣyan' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi', 'eva' for 'etat'; 'śuci-vratāḥ' for 'muni-vratāḥ'), Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 32 (v. 1. 'yat tu' for 'yatra', 'tat procyate' for 'procyate tat', and 'eva' for 'etat'), Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary (called Krama-saṃdarbha) on Bhāgavata-p. XII. 7. 17-22 (v. 1 'yac ca' for 'yatra'; 'eva' for 'etat'; 'muni-vratāḥ' for 'muni-vratāḥ'), Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18 (v. 1. 'eva' for 'etat'; 'muni-vratāḥ' for 'muni-vratāḥ'), and Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15 (v. 1 'yat tu' for 'yatra', 'eva' for 'etat')

‘O sages, (the section, occurring) in the Bhaviṣya also, wherein there is a small tale concerning Sāmba, is, again, called Sāmba (-purāna) in society’. The words ‘api’⁸⁵ and ‘punaḥ’ in this verse, as well as the word ‘prthak’ in the verse ‘aṣṭādaśabhyas tu prthak purāṇam etc.’⁸⁶ show that though at the time of composition of these verses the Sāmba-p. was found to exist separately and was also found incorporated in the Bhaviṣya-p., the author of these verses was quite conscious of the fact that the Sāmba-p. was really an independent Purāṇic work.

(2) In Varāha-p., chap. 177, in which the story of Sāmba’s penance⁸⁷ for the Sun’s favour in order to get rid of leprosy caused by

85 The reading ‘api’ is found not only in the Venkat. ed. (53 61) and Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara’s ed (53 61) of the Matsya-p. but also in Kṛtya-ratnākara, p 32, Jīva Gosvāmin’s commentary on Bhāgavata-p. XII 7 17-22, Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p 18 and Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p 15 (See the immediately preceding foot-note) The reading ‘bhaviṣyati’ (for ‘bhaviṣye ’pi’), as found in the AnSS ed of the Matsya-p, in Skanda-p. VII 1 2 82, and in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533 and II 1, p 22, is metrically defective.

86 aṣṭādaśabhyas tu prthak purāṇam yat pradiśyate/
 vijānidhvam dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam// (Mat 53. 63).

For the different readings of this verse in different works see Chap. I, foot-notes 37 and 38

87 In Varāha-p, chap 177, the story of Sāmba has been given, with certain innovations, as follows —

Once Nārada saw Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā and told him that all his 16000 wives were enamoured of Sāmba for his physical beauty and that this fact used to be discussed by the gods in Brahma-loka. In order to be convinced of the truth of Nārada’s allegation Kṛṣṇa called Sāmba before his wives and saw with his own eyes the mental agitation his wives had at the sight of Sāmba. Kṛṣṇa was ashamed of his wives’ conduct, and decried female nature as being unscrupulously lustful. With the intention of making Sāmba an object of Kṛṣṇa’s curse, Nārada said that this guilt was certainly not one-sided but was equally shared by Sāmba who used to encourage Kṛṣṇa’s wives in their desire for sexual enjoyment, and that even the residents of Satya-loka were of opinion that Kṛṣṇa’s wives were corrupted by Sāmba. Nārada even advised Kṛṣṇa to forsake Sāmba. Consequently, Kṛṣṇa cursed Sāmba to be deformed, and in a moment Sāmba became an ugly leper. As a remedy Nārada advised Sāmba to go to Udayācala and worship the rising Sun there in the forenoon. He also assured Sāmba that there would be a ‘Bhaviṣyat-purāna’ on the basis of Sāmba’s words (cf bhaviṣyat-purāṇam iti ca tava vādād bhaviṣyati) and that this Purāna would always be read

Kṛṣṇa's curse has been narrated briefly with the mention of the 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' as the source, Sāmba is said to have 'made the famous Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa new'. This shows that originally the Bhaviṣya-p. did not contain any story of Sāmba, and that the chapters on Sāmba were added to the Bhaviṣya-p. later.

(3) According to Nāradya-p. I. 100, the Bhaviṣya-p. consisted of five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Saura and Pratisarga, and of only 14000 ślokaś. In connection with a description of the contents of these Parvans, the Nāradya-p. says that the Brāhma Parvan, which dealt with creation etc., sacraments, and the Tithi-kalpas up to the Saptamī Tithi, and which represented all the śāstras, related to the Aghora-kalpa, contained mainly the praise of Brahmā,⁸⁸ and was 'āditya-carita-prāya' and 'sarvākhyāna-samanvita'. The non-mention of the famous story of Sāmba among the contents of the Brāhma Parvan, the mention of a short extent of 14000 ślokaś for the entire Bhaviṣya-p., and the statement that the Brāhma Parvan abounded in the praise of Brahmā and related to the occurrence of the Aghora-kalpa, tend to show that the Brāhma Parvan, described by the Nāradya-p., was much shorter than the present one (in which there is no mention of the Aghora-kalpa and which has retained some of the contents of its earlier prototype),⁸⁹ and that it lacked the story of Sāmba.

by Nārada himself before Brahmā in Brahma-loka and be declared by Sumantu to Manu in the world of mortals. But as the disabled Sāmba intimated his inability to go to Udayācala, Nārada asked him to go to Mathurā (which was evidently nearer to Dvārakā than Udayācala) and worship the Sun there after taking his bath in the Yamunā, so that Sāmba might derive the benefits of worshipping the Sun in the morning on the Udayācala, at mid-day, and in the evening. Sāmba did so and was cured of his disease. He asked the Sun about the Purāṇa declared by the latter (cf. *raviṃ papraccha dharmātmā purāṇaṃ sūrya-bhāsitam*), made the famous 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' new (cf. *bhaviṣyat-purāṇaṃ itī khyātaṃ kṛtvā punar navam*), and established three images of the Sun,—one on the Udayācala, another named Kālapriya, on the south of the Yamunā, and the third, named Mūlasthāna, on the Astamānācala. Sāmba also established another image of the Sun, named Sāmbapura, at Mathurā.

88 Cf. Nāradya-p. I. 100, 112—

eṣu pañcasu parvasu brahmano mahimādhikah

89 See Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*, pp. 167-171.

That the Bhaviṣya-p. was originally much shorter than the present one and that it grew in bulk with the addition of various stories in later times, are shown by the present Bhaviṣya itself, in which Sumantu says to king Śatānīka that all the Purānas originally contained 12000 ślokas each but later on increased in bulk by incorporating various stories, and that in course of time the Bhaviṣya-p. came to have half a lac of ślokas.⁹⁰

(4) In the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Ms⁹¹ of the Bhaviṣya-p. which consists of five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra (i.e. Saura) and Pratisarga. The extent of this Ms is much shorter than that of the printed Bhaviṣya, and it lacks the story of Sāmba.

The evidences, adduced above, are certainly not very strong when taken individually. So, they are to be considered with the following internal evidences.

(5) In Bhav. I. 93, in which many of the verses of Sāmba-p., chap. 38 are found, there is mention of both the Bhaviṣya-p. and the Sāmba-p.⁹² among the objects to be offered to the Sun.

(6) The story of Samjñā has been given in two places of the Brāhma Parvan of the Bhaviṣya-p., viz., in chaps. 47 and 79. Of these, chap. 79 has the great majority of its verses in common with Sāmba-p., chaps. 10-11, and narrates the story of Samjñā in the same way as the latter.⁹³ But in Bhav. I. 47 the story of Samjñā has been given very differently in the following way.

90 Cf Bhav. I. 1 104b-107a—

sarvāny eva purānāni samjñeyāni nararsabha//
dvādaśaiva sahasrāni proktāniha manisibhih/
punar vrddhim gatāniha ākhyānair vividhair nrpa//
yathā skādam tathā cedam bhaviṣyam kurunandana/
skādam śata-sahasram tu lokānām jñātam eva hi//
bhaviṣyam etad rsinām laksārdham samkhyayā krtam//

91 No 4500 —See Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp 424-428, No. 3738 It should be mentioned here that this Ms gives a text which is quite different from that of the printed Bhaviṣya

92 Bhav. I 93. 71—

bhaviṣyam sām̐ba-samjñam vā dattvā sūryāya pustakam/
rājasūyāśvamedhābhyām phalam prāpnoti mānavah//

93 For the story of Samjñā as given in Sāmba-p., chaps. 10-11, see above.

While the Sun (called Mārtaṇḍa) was yet in the Cosmic Egg (aṇḍastha), Dakṣa gave him his incomparably beautiful daughter named Arūpā⁹⁴ as wife, and Yama and Yamunā were born to her. Now, the Sun was beautiful but so bright that, being dazzled by his brilliance, Arūpā was unable to see any of his limbs; even her beautiful golden complexion was turned black by the Sun's rays. So, being dejected in mind, Arūpā determined to place her own chāyā (shadow) there and go to the Northern Kuru country for practising penance. Consequently, she left Chāyā to occupy her own place, with a request not to divulge the matter to the Sun, went to the Northern Kuru country, and lived there with deer for many years in the form of a mare. The Sun took Chāyā to be his wife and begot on her 'two children named Śani and Tapatī.'⁹⁵ Chāyā was very partial to her own children and did not look upon Yama and Yamunā with much affection. Now, once Yamunā and Tapatī quarrelled with each other and were turned into rivers (by their mutual curse); and Yama was beaten by Chāyā so severely that 'he stood before her by raising his foot'. Chāyā was enraged at Yama's behaviour and cursed him saying, "Thou, fool, hast raised thy foot towards me! So, the gruesome work of killing the lives of creatures will undoubtedly be thine as long as there will be the sun and the moon. If thou placest this foot on the ground, worms will consume it, polluted as it is by my curse". When Yama and Chāyā were thus quarrelling, the Sun came there. Yama intimated to the Sun Chāyā's unequal treatment towards them, and added that she was merely the chāyā (shadow) of his mother and not his mother herself. Yama also informed the Sun of the unhappy incident concerning Yamunā and Tapatī. Hearing all this, the Sun said that the worms would not

94 In Bhav. I 47 the name of Dakṣa's daughter is given as Samjñā only once, viz, in verse 48b, but even in that line the reading 'samjñāyāh' is found replaced by the reading 'sāvarṇāyāh' in some Mss.

95 Though here (in Bhav. I 47. 12a) only two children, namely Śani and Tapatī, are said to have been born of Chāyā by Mārtaṇḍa, in Bhav. I. 47. 48a Chāyā is said to have three children, viz, Tapatī, Śani and Sāvarṇi (tapatī śanis ca sāvarṇis chāyāpatnyāni vai viduh). So, verse 48 of Bhav. I 47 must be spurious.

enter the earth after taking flesh and blood from Yama's foot placed on the surface of the earth, that the water of the Yamunā would be as holy as that of the Ganges, into which the Yamunā would ultimately flow, that the Tapatī would be equal to the Narmadā in respect of sanctity and would flow on the south of the Vindhya, that Yama would become the Lokapāla, and that Chāyā would thenceforward remain in her own body. The Sun then went to Dakṣa and asked him the reason of his daughter's departure. Dakṣa, who understood the whole matter, told the Sun that being unable to see the Sun's figure his daughter went to the Northern Kuru country. He also proposed that he might make the Sun's figure discernible, only if the latter agreed to stand the pain. The Sun consenting, Dakṣa thought of Taksan (the divine architect), who immediately came there and, with the Sun's consent to bear the pain, began to pare out his limbs from head to foot by means of his instruments. When the rays of his different limbs were thus being pared, the Sun fainted at every moment. So, being afraid of the Sun's curse, Taksan left the parts of his feet from the heels to the toes unpared and removed the pain by applying on his body a paste made of Karavīra flowers and red sandal. The Sun went to the Northern Kuru country, took the form of a horse, and had physical union with his wife. The two Aśvins and Revanta were born of this union. After meeting his wife the Sun reassumed his divine form.

The above story differs from that in Bhav. I. 79 on many important points; viz., there is mention neither of Vaivasvata Manu nor of Śrutaśravas (who was destined to become Sāvarṇi Manu) among the sons of the Sun; the name of the Sun's wife is given as Arūpā; Arūpā is said to have gone direct to the Northern Kuru country without stopping at her father's house, Yamunā and Tapatī are said to have been turned into rivers by their mutual curse, and so on. So, it is evident that these two divergent stories could never have been written by the same hand.

(7) The Bhaviṣya-p. begins to have verses in common with the Sāmba-p. from I. 52 (dealing with the following topics:—the description of the Sun's one-wheeled chariot, and the method and results of saluting the Sun). Bhav. I. 52 is intimately connected with, and

is a continuation of, Bhav. I. 51 which deals with the solar vow called Mahāsaptamī requiring the worship of the Sun, the gift of a chariot, and the performance of a procession after mounting the Sun's image in a car (ratha-yātrā). It is the mention of Ratha-yātrā in Bhav. I. 51. 13b that introduces the topics of Bhav. I. 52ff. Moreover, Vāsudeva, who speaks to Sāmba in Bhav. I. 48-51 and who is said to have vanished from Sāmba's presence in Bhav. I. 52. 1-2, is introduced by Sumantu at the very beginning of Bhav. I. 48. As Bhav. I. 48-49, which deal with the method of Sun-worship in Saptamī-vrata, are imbued with Tantric elements, and as Sāmba-p., chaps. 1-15, 16 (verses 1-24), 18-21, 24-38 and 46, being remarkably free from Tantric elements, must have been written at a time when the cult of the Sun was still immune from Tantricism, it is sure that the Bhaviṣya-p. incorporated the verses of the Sāmba-p. at a time when the method of Sun-worship was being influenced by Tantricism.

(8) The same verses of the Sāmba-p. occur in three different places of the Bhaviṣya-p., viz.,

Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.
chap. 8 (except verse 13b)	= I. 54. 2-14,
chap. 8, verses 1-11a	= I. 78. 43b-53a;
chap. 8, verses 1-4a, 5 and 6b-7	= I. 161. 2-5 and 6b-7.

(9) Sāmba-p., chap. 9 gives the etymological meanings (dhātvartha-nigama) of the Sun's different names in verses 15-43 and then says:—

apy ekam vetṭi yo nāma dhātvarthanigamai raveḥ/

sa rogair varjitaḥ sarvaḥ sadyaḥ pāpāt pramucyate// (verse 57).

Bhav. I. 78 (which has a large number of verses in common with Sāmba-p., chap. 9) contains the verses 'apy ekam vetṭi yo nāma' etc. but lacks the verses on the etymological meanings of the Sun's different names.

(10) In verse 23 of Bhav. I. 79 Nārada proposes to speak of the offspring of the Sun and says that the Sun begot three children on Samjñā, but in verses 24ff. he goes on narrating the story of Samjñā abruptly from her residence in her father's house for one thousand years before she started for the Northern Kuru country. It is to be

noted that although the whole of Sāmba-p., chap. 10, and the large majority of the verses of Sāmba-p., chap. 11, are found to occur in Bhav. I. 79, the Bhaviṣya-p. remarkably lacks Sāmba-p. 11. 2-12a which state why Saṃjñā determined to go to her father's house without informing the Sun and how she created Chāyā for the purpose and left her in charge of her husband and children.

(11) In Bhav. I. 53, in which Brahmā speaks to Rudra and which has the large majority of its verses in common with Sāmba-p., chaps. 20-21, verse 50b reads 'viṣṇur bhavān ahaṃ rudraḥ pūjayāma (v.l. 'pūjayanti' and 'pūjayāmah') niśā-ksaye' in place of 'brahmā viṣṇuś ca rudraś ca pūjayanti niśā-ksaye' of verse 23b of Sāmba-p. 20 (in which Nārada speaks to Sāmba on the names of the towns surrounding the Meru, the speed with which the Sun goes round the Meru, and the names of the different gods who worship the Sun at different times).

(12) Sāmba-p. 35. 2b-3a (yasya yaś ca niyogaḥ syād devasya kathito mayā/sa tasminn eva manasā sthāpanīyo rathe budhaiḥ//) refers to Sāmba-p., chap. 29 (dealing with the characteristics of the Sun's image, the construction of Sun-temples, and the position of the image of the Sun as well as of those of the Sun's attendant deities in these temples). But Bhav. I. 58, which contains almost all the verses of Sāmba-p., chap. 35, omits the lines 'yasya yaś ca niyogaḥ syāt' etc. but retains the line 'sa tasminn eva manasā sthāpanīyo rathe budhaiḥ'⁹⁶ which is meaningless without the first line (yasya yaś ca niyogaḥ syāt etc.) The cause of this omission is that in the Bhaviṣya-p. there is no chapter (preceding chap. 58) to which the line 'yasya yaś ca niyogaḥ syāt' may refer and that the verses of Sāmba-p. 29, which deal with the position of the Sun's image and of those of his attendant deities in the Sun-temple, have been inserted in the Bhaviṣya-p. as late as in chap. 130.

(13) Sāmba-p. 35. 3b (dyaur mahī deva-mūrtisthe yathā-pūrvam prakīrtite) refers to Sāmba-p. 10. 4ff. (in which the Sun's two wives Rājñī and Nīkṣubhā have been identified with Dyauh and Prthivī respectively), but this line, as retained in Bhav. I. 58. 24b (dyaur

96 See Bhav. I. 58. 24a.

mahī ca dvimūrtisthe yathāpūrvam pratisthite), has no preceding chapter to refer to, and the verses of Sāmba-p. 10, to which it might refer, have been inserted as late as in Bhav. I. 79

(14) Though in Bhav. I. 58 Brahmā speaks to Rudra, line 32b (which corresponds to Sāmba-p. 35. 10a) runs as follows:—yathokta-karaṇād rudra sadā śāntir bhaven nṛpa. The use of the word 'nṛpa' in the Vocative Case in this line is unwarranted and proves that the Bhaviṣya-p. is the borrower, because in the corresponding chapter (35) of the Sāmba-p. Vasistha speaks to king Brhadbala.

(15) The Bhaviṣya-p. has plagiarised a large number of verses from Varāhamihira's Brhat-saṃhitā,⁹⁷ viz.,

Bhav. I. 54. 15-16	=	Brhat-saṃhitā 3. 21-22.
„ I 130. 8-37a	=	„ 56 1-28a and 29b-30
„ I. 131. 4	=	„ 59. 1.
„ I. 131. 14-18	—cf.	„ 59. 5-7.
„ I 131. 31b-35	=	„ 59. 8-11.
„ I. 131. 42b-45	=	„ 59. 12-13.
„ I. 132. 26-32	=	„ 58. 48, 47b, 50-52 and 41-42.
„ I. 133. 1b-2	—cf.	„ 60. 1-2a.
„ I. 133. 3a	=	„ 60. 2b
„ I. 133. 3b-81	—cf	„ 60. 3-6a.
„ I. 137. 4-6a	=	„ 60. 14-19 and 22a.

97 The Bhaviṣya-p. is taken to be the borrower for the following reasons —

(1) In Bhav. I. 1-7 Vyāsa is said to have narrated briefly in the present Bhaviṣya the contents of the Smṛti and other works written by the sages such as Parāśara. So, the present Bhaviṣya-p. calls itself a compilation rather than an original work. As a matter of fact, Bhav. I. 2ff frequently refer to Manu and have numerous verses derived from the Manu-smṛti. Aparārka and Kullūka-bhatta even say that the Bhaviṣya-p. expounds the passages of the Manu-smṛti (see Aparārka's com. on the Yā, pp. 1071 and 1076, and Kullūka-bhatta's com on Manu-smṛti XI 73, 74, 75 and 101).

(2) The peculiar metre, which Varāhamihira uses in many of the chapters of his Brhat-saṃhitā, is found only in some of those verses of the Bhaviṣya-p. which are common with the Brhat-saṃhitā. There are two verses (viz., Bhav. I 137 3 and 6b-7a) which, though written in this peculiar metre, do not occur in the Brhat-saṃhitā. Of these, the former (i.e. verse 3) is introductory and the latter is concluding to verses 4-6a (=Brhat-saṃhitā 60. 14-19 and 22a).

But in the Sāmba-p. there is not even a single line which has its parallel in the Brhat-saṃhitā, although almost all the verses of chaps. 8 and 29-31 of the Sāmba-p. are found to occur in the above-mentioned chapters of the Bhaviṣya-p., viz ,

Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.
Chap. 8 (except verse 13b)	=I. 54. 2-14;
„ 29 (except verses 1-7, 20a)	=I. 130. 42-56, 59-60a, 63b,
„ 30 (except verses 28b-29, 31b)	=I. 131. 1a, 2-3a, 10b-13a, 5-10a, 19-20, 23-26, 27b- 30, 36-41, 46-47,
„ 31	=I. 132. 1-24;
„ 32, verse 1a	=I. 133. 1a.

On the other hand, Bhav. I. 24-28, though dealing with the physical characteristics of men and women (strī-puruṣa-sāṃudrika-lakṣaṇa), betray no influence of the Brhat-saṃhitā (which deals with

(3) A great scholar and astronomer like Varāhamihira cannot be expected to have plagiarised verses from the Bhaviṣya-p., especially when we consider that although in Brhat-saṃhitā 1. 2 Varāhamihira says that he has treated in an easy style the same subject-matter as was revealed by the former seers, he refers very often, by name, to the authors of those works from which he has taken verses, and that the extant Purāṇas, which are often called compilations (saṃhitā), are found to have incorporated verses or even complete chapters from standard Sanskrit works on different subjects

Hence it is sure that the Bhaviṣya-p. borrowed the verses from the Brhat-saṃhitā

Regarding the mutual relation between the Bhaviṣya-p. and the Brhat-saṃhitā, Nagendra Nath Vasu says that the Brhat-saṃhitā (60. 19) quotes the verse 'visnor bhāgavatān magāms ca savituh etc' from the Bhaviṣya-p. (see Vasu, Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja, Vol I, p v, foot-note 1). It is evident that Vasu jumped into his conclusion on the basis of only the above-mentioned verse (visnor bhāgavatān), and that he was quite unconscious of the numerous coincidences between the Brhat-saṃhitā and the Bhaviṣya-p. So, his view can safely be rejected

Vasu's view has been repeated by J. N Farquhar in his Outline of the Religious Literature of India (p 153), but the latter says " the śloka may have been in common use, we cannot be sure that it is quoted from the Purāṇa by Varāha Mihira". (See Outline, p. 153, foot-note 2).

the same topics in chaps. 68-70). So, it is evident that the chapters of the Bhaviṣya-p., which deal with the story of Sāmba, were originally taken from the Sāmba-p. and improved with verses from the Bṛhat-saṃhitā and then added to the Bhaviṣya-p.

(16) In Bhav. I. 66 Sumantu, being asked by Śatānīka to speak on the glory of the Sun, narrates the interlocution between the sage Śaṅkha and a Brahmin; and in this interlocution Śaṅkha says.

“imam arthaṃ vasiṣṭhena prṣṭaḥ sāmba yathā purā/
sa covāca vasiṣṭhāya tad ahaṃ kathayāmi te//”

This seems to be a reference to the Sāmba-p. in which Vasiṣṭha narrates the story of Sāmba to king Bṛhadbala.

(17) In Bhav. I. 78. 58-60 (=Sāmba-p. 9. 5b-8a) the names of the twelve Ādityas, shining respectively in the twelve months from Caitra, are as follows:—

Viṣṇu, Aryaman, Vivasvat, Amṣumat, Parjanya, Varuṇa, Indra, Dhātṛ, Mitra, Pūṣan, Bhaga and Tvaṣṭṛ.

But in Bhav. I. 65. 26b-29 the twelve Ādityas, shining respectively in the twelve months from Caitra, are the following:—

Dhātṛ, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Vivasvat, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Iṣu, Bhaga, Tvaṣṭṛ, and Viṣṇu.

(18) In Bhav. I. 139. 1-9a (which are the same as Sāmba-p. 26. 16-22a and 24-25) we are told that after regaining his former physical beauty Sāmba approached Nārada and asked him which Brahmins were fit for worshipping the Sun's image established by himself. Nārada said that no twice-born of any worth could be prevailed upon to worship the image and accept its property, because by such acceptance they would be regarded as apāṅkteya Devalaka Brahmins. So, Nārada advised Sāmba to take recourse to the Sun who alone was able to give him necessary information in this matter. Next, in Bhav. I. 139, verses 9b-69 (none of which, except the first half of 10b, is found in the Sāmba-p.) we see that Nārada also gave an alternative suggestion to Sāmba saying: “Or, Oh tiger in the family of Yadu, go to Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena, and ask him. He will fulfil your desire”⁹⁸. Consequently, Sāmba approached

Gauramukha and requested him to accept the huge temple (vipulam grham) as well as the property that was donated by Sāmba to the Sun's image established there by himself. But Gauramukha declined saying that he could not lower himself to the status of apānkteya Devalaka Brahmins by accepting the property of the image. Next, being asked by Sāmba as to whether he saw or heard of any Brahmin to whom these things might be given, Gauramukha spoke of the 'Magas', whom he described as descendants of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra, according to some Mss)⁹⁹. About the origin of this Jaraśabda, Gauramukha narrated the following story.

Due to a curse of the Sun, his wife Nikṣubhā was born in a human form as the daughter of the sage Rjīśvan^{99a} (more often called Rjīhva, and once Sujīhva) of the Mihira gotra. Rjīśvan named her Hāralilā (or Hāvanī according to some Mss),¹⁰⁰ and the latter 'was to sport with Fire according to her father's command' (pītur niyogāt sā kanyā viharej jātavedasam—Bhav. I. 139. 36b)¹⁰¹. Accordingly, the Fire was kindled (samiddhah)¹⁰² by her. Now, once the Sun chanced to see Hāralilā and was attracted by her youthful beauty. Finding no other means of enjoying her person, he entered fire¹⁰³;

99 Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p 30 The Bodleian Ms reads 'jalagamvu.'—See Aufrecht, Bod Cat, p 33a

99a The Rg-veda names one Rjīśvan (almost undoubtedly a king) in a number of verses, two of which (viz., Rg-veda IV. 16. 13 and V. 29. 11) call him a 'Vaidathina' (a son or descendant of Vidathin) and one (viz., Rg-veda X. 99. 11), an 'Auśija' (a son or descendant of Uśija). As there is no possibility of Vaidathina Rjīśvan and Auśija Rjīśvan of the Rg-veda being different persons, it seems that Rjīśvan was the son or descendant of Vidathin belonging to the family of Uśija (See Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p 161). In Rg-veda VI. 20. 7 Rjīśvan has been called 'a donor of (sacrificial) gifts'.

100 See Aufrecht, Bod. Cat, p 32b Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p 30

101 This shows that Hāralilā (or Hāvanī) was betrothed by her father to the Fire god, who alone was thus entitled to enjoy her person

102 The word 'samiddhah' may also mean 'excited amorously'

103 In the verses

anayāvahrto yo 'yam pāvako deva pūjitaḥ /
vanam āviśya tanvaṅgīm bhajeyam loka-pūjitaṃ //
iti samcintya deveśaḥ sahasrāmśur divaspatiḥ /
viveśa pāvakam vīra tat-putraś cābhavat tadā //

and Hāralilā also transgressed the kindled Fire and met the Sun. Seeing that Hāralilā transgressed himself, the Fire, which was kindled by Hāralilā, became enraged. He assumed his own form and said under the inspiration of the Sun (nodito bhāskarena tu), "As you have superseded me by violating the Vedic injunctions, the son, who will be born to you, will be famous under the name of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra, according to some Mss) and will be the perpetuator of his family and the multiplier of fame (vaṁśa-kīrti-vivardhanah)¹⁰⁴. (His descendants) will be called Magas, because of (his) origin from fire; they will also be known as dvijātis (twice-born) for (his) origin from Soma, and as Bhojakas for (his) origin from Āditya. All these will be called divine". Saying this the Sun (who resided in the Fire) vanished.¹⁰⁵ The sage Rjīśvan knew, through meditation, about Hāralilā's pregnancy. He deemed himself lowered¹⁰⁶ and cursed Hāralilā saying: "Oh extremely fortunate (girl), as, due to the fault of yourself who have become passionate, the foetus has been generated in you under the cover of fire, it will become dishonourable (apūjya)". Being aggrieved, Hāralilā prayed to the Sun for raising her child to an honourable position. The Sun took the

(Bhav. I 139 39-40) the word 'vanam' must be a wrong reading for 'enam' Aufrecht's Ms reads 'etam' for 'vanam' — See Bod. Cat., p. 33a

104 In the printed edition, Bhav. I 139. 43b ff read as follows. —

vedoktam vidhim utsrjya yathāham langhitas tvayā/
tasmān mattah samutpanno na ca putro bhaviṣyati//
jaraśabda itī khyāto vaṁśa-kīrti-vivardhanah/
agni-jātyā magāḥ proktāḥ soma-jātyā dvijātayah//
etc. etc

But with these readings the above lines do not give any clear meaning, and the third line remains unconnected. So, we are to accept the text of the second line as given in Aufrecht's Ms, viz, tasmāt sa tu samutpannas tava putro bhaviṣyati — See Bod. Cat., p. 33a.

105 The printed ed. reads —

tam evam uktvā bhagavān ādityo 'ntaradhiyata

(Bhav. I. 139. 46a) But Aufrecht's Ms reads: —

tam evam uktvā bhagavān ādityo 'ntardadhe 'gnimān

(see Bod. Cat., p. 33a). The latter reading seems to be better.

106 Cf. patitah syān mahātejā rjīhvah sumahāmātiḥ

form of fire and said that though he did not like to make R̥jīśvan's words futile, he would make her disreputable son worthy of respect and versed in the Vedas, that her son would have as his descendants such teachers of the Vedas as Vasistha and others who would sing the Sun's praise, worship the Sun and fire with devotion, observe the solar vows, have matted hair and beards, carry a pūrṇaka in their right hand and a 'varśmā'¹⁰⁷ in their left, cover their face with a veil called 'patidāna'¹⁰⁸, and, being purified by these and other practices, attain the Sun's proximity, and that even those who would worship the Sun without observing any rule or using any *mantra* out of ignorance or displeasure, would delight in the presence of the Sun. The Sun then vanished.

Thus, Gauramukha said, 'the Bhojakas came into being'. Gauramukha advised Sāmba to give the town as well as the gifts to these Bhojakas. At the request of Sāmba to tell him where these great sons of the Sun called Bhojakas lived, Gauramukha intimated his ignorance in this matter and advised him to take recourse to the Sun.

Then in Bhav. I. 139. 70-81 and 83-97 (which are the same as Sāmba-p. 26. 26-49 and 50b-52) we are told that Sāmba approached the Sun, bowed down to him, and asked him. "Who will perform your worship?" Being thus questioned by Sāmba, the Sun spoke of the Magas, Magagas, Gānagas (or Mānasas) and Mandagas of Śāka-dvīpa, who, he said, were produced by Viśvakarman from his rays,¹⁰⁹ to whom he imparted the four Vedas, and who were given to his worship. At the Sun's advice Sāmba went to Śāka-dvīpa and brought eighteen families (astādāsa kulāni) of Magas to Mitravana.

A careful comparison between the above contents of the three parts of Bhav. I. 139 shows that the third part is a direct continuation of the first, and that the second part (viz., Bhav. I 139 9b-69), which is not found in the Sāmba-p., differs on many points from the first and the third. For instance, Sāmba's question 'kas te pūjāṃ karisyati'

¹⁰⁷ The printed ed. wrongly reads 'varma'.—Bhav. I. 139. 60a.

The 'varśmā' (or Barsom,—Avestan 'baresma') is a bundle of twigs held by Magian priests during Sun-worship.

¹⁰⁸ This veil is called 'patidāna' in the Avesta.

¹⁰⁹ tejasas te madiyasya nīrmitā viśvakarmanā,—Bhav. I. 139 76b

to the Sun in Bhav. I. 139 70b follows from the conversation between Sāmba and Nārada in Bhav. I. 139 1-9a but does not agree with Bhav. I. 139. 69 in which Gauramukha says :

“nāhaṃ jāne mahābāho vasante yatra vai magāh/
ravis taj jānate vīra tasmāt taṃ śaraṇaṃ vraja/”;

and in Bhav. I. 139. 76b the Magas, Magagas etc. are said to have been produced by Viśvakarman from the Sun's rays, whereas in Bhav. I. 139. 9b-69 a different origin of the Magas is given.

Just like the Bhaviṣya-p., the present Brahma-p. also has a large number of verses in common with the Sāmba-p., viz.,

Brahma-p.		Sāmba-p.
Chap. 29 (except verses 1-2, 6b-7a, 9b and 25b)	=	Chap 38 (except verses 1-2, 34a and 53b);
„ 30, verses 2b-21	=	„ 2, verses 2a and 3-21;
„ 30, verses 22-23a, 24-42a, 44	=	„ 4, verses 3-18 and 20-24;
„ 30, verses 45, 60a, 62-65, 75a, 76-86, 88-92	=	„ 5, verses 1-20, 21b-23a, 24-30, 31b-39,
„ 31, verses 1-14a	=	„ 8, verses 1-13;
„ 31, verses 14b-27	=	„ 9, verses 1-13a and 14,
„ 31, verses 29b-38	=	„ 25, verses 3b-12;
„ 32, verses 50-54, 55b-67a, 68a, 69-73, 75a (partly), 76-79 and 81	=	„ 11, verses 1b-2a, 3b-5a, 9-11, 12b-16a, 19-31, 32a(partly), 34b-38, 41;
„ 32, verses 89a, 90-92, 93b-94, 95b-105, 106-108	=	„ 12, verses 5a, 9a, 11-20, 22-26; 11, verses 42-43, 12, verse 27,
„ 33, verses 1-22a and 23-31	=	„ 14, verses 1, 4-17a, 18-24a and 26-34

That the above verses of the Brahma-p. originally belonged to some other source is shown by the fact that though in Brahma-p., chap. 28 Brahmā begins, at the request of the sages, to describe the place (kṣetra) of Koṇāditya or Koṇārka situated in Uthala (or Oḍradeśa) on the northern shore of the salt-ocean¹¹⁰, in chaps 29-33

¹¹⁰ Brahma-p. 28, verses 1-2 (... dahṣiṇodadhi-samsthitaḥ/ odradeśa ita khyātaḥ.....// samudrād urtaram tāvat), 11 (lavanasyodadhes tīre.....), 19-20, 56 and 64 (koṇārkasyodadhes tīre.....).

he is found to describe Mitravana situated on the bank of the Candrasarit mostly in the same verses as found in the Sāmba-p. and the Bhavīsyā-p., no mention being made by him of Konāditya (or Koṇārka), of Utkala (or Odradeśa), or of the ocean in these chapters. A comparison between the above-mentioned chapters of the Brahma-p., on the one hand, and those chapters of the Sāmba and the Bhavīsyā-p. which have verses in common with the Brahma-p., on the other, shows definitely that the Brahma-p. borrowed these common verses from the Sāmba-p. For instance, many verses are found common to Brahma-p. 29, Sāmba-p. 38 and Bhav. I. 80-82 and 93, and a textual comparison between these chapters shows that Brahma-p. 29 agrees much more with Sāmba-p. 38 than with Bhav. I. 80-82 and 93.¹¹¹

111 The nature of agreement will be evident from the following table.

Brahma-p		Sāmba-p		Bhavīsyā-p.
29 1-2	=	—	=	—
—	=	38 1-2	=	—
—	=	—	=	I 80. 1.
29 3a	=	38 3a	=	—
29 3b-4a	=	38 3b-4a	=	I 80. 2.
—	=	—	=	I. 80. 3-8.
29 4b-6a	=	38 4b-6a	=	—
29 6b-7a	=	—	=	—
29 7b-9a	=	38 6b-8a	=	—
29 9b	=	—	=	—
29 10-12	=	38. 8b-11a	=	—
29. 13a	=	38. 12a	=	—
29 13b	=	38. 12b	=	—
29. 14a	=	38. 11b	=	—
29 14b-17	=	38 13-16a	=	—
29 18-20	=	38 16b-19a	=	I 80 9-11.
—	=	—	=	I. 80. 12-13.
29. 21	=	38. 19b-20a	=	I 80. 14.
—	=	—	=	I. 80 15
29. 22a	=	38. 20b	=	I. 80. 16a
29. 23-25b	=	38. 21b-23	=	I. 80. 16b-18
29. 25b	=	—	=	—
—	=	—	=	I. 80. 19.
29. 26	=	—	=	I. 80. 20.
—	=	—	=	I. 80 21-36.

Similarly, the text of Brahma-p., chap. 30 follows much more that of Sāmba-p. 2 and 4-5 than of Bhav. I 66, 74 and 67. The arrangements of those chapters of the Brahma, Sāmba and Bhaviṣya-p. in which the common verses occur,¹¹² also point to the Sāmba-p. as the source of the Brahma.

Brahma-p.		Sāmba-p.		Bhaviṣya-p.
29. 27-29a	=	38. 24-26a	=	—
—	=	—	=	I. 81. 1.
29. 29b-31a	=	38. 26b-28a	=	I 81 2-3 and 15b-16a
—	=	—	=	I 81. 4-15a
—	=	—	=	I. 81. 15b-18
—	=	—	=	I 81. 1-2.
29. 31b	=	38. 28b	=	I. 82 3a
—	=	—	=	I. 82 3b-5.
29. 32a	=	38. 29a	=	I. 82. 5a
29. 32b-35	=	38. 29b-32	=	—
etc.		etc		etc

The text of the Brahma-p. follows that of the Sāmba-p. not only in the number of verses but also in their readings. For instance,

Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
38.3b-deva-pūjā-phalam	I. 80.2a-sūrya-pūjā-phalam	29 3b-deva-pūjā-phalam
38 4a-pranipāte namas- kāre tathā caiva pradaksine	I. 80.2b-pranipāte phalam yac ca gīta-vādye ca yat phalam	29 4a-same as in the Sāmba-p
38.16b-pūjayā ca vivasvatah	I. 80 9a-pūjayā ca nara raveh	29 18a-pūjayāpi vivas- vatah
38.17b-bhūmyām namas- kāraṃ karoti yah	I. 80 10a-bhūmau namas- kāra-paro raveh	29 19a-same as in the Sāmba-p.
38.19a-sapta-dvipā vasundharā etc	I. 80.11b-sapta-dvipā bhaven mahi etc.	29 20b-same as in the Sāmba-p. etc

For those few cases in which particular verses or readings of the Brahma-p. are found in the Bhaviṣya-p. and not in the Sāmba, the changes undergone by the Sāmba-p. are to be held responsible

112 The corresponding chapters in these three Purāṇas are the following —

Brahma-p.	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.
Chap. 29	Chap. 38	I. 80-82 and 93
" 30	Chaps. 2, 4 and 5	I 66, 74 and 67.
" 31	" 8, 9 and 25	I. 54 (or 78 or 161), 78 and 128.
" 32	" 11 and 12	I 79 and 121
" 33	Chap 14	I 123

Note that most of the chapters of the Sāmba-p., which correspond to Brahma-p., chaps. 29-33, follow their preceding ones in regular succession

The Skanda-p. (Prabhāsa khanda) also has a large number of verses in common with the Sāmba-p., Bhaviṣya-p. and Brahma-p. The corresponding chapters of these four Purāṇas in which the common verses occur are the following :—

Skanda-p VII (Prabhāsa-kh.).1,	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
Chaps. 11-12	Chaps 10-13 and 15	I. 79 and 121-123	Chap. 32.
Chaps. 100-101	Chaps. 4 (slightly), 3 and 9	I. 72-73 and 78	Chap. 31
Chaps. 128 and 240	Chap 25	I 128	Chap. 31.

A comparison between the texts of these corresponding chapters shows that the text of the Skanda-p. is based mainly on that of the Bhaviṣya but is sometimes supplemented by that of the Brahma-p., as the following table will indicate.

Skanda-p.VII (Prabhāsa-kh.).1,	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
11 62-75	= 10. 4b-17	= I 79 4b-87	= —
11. 76	= —	= —	= —
11. 77-80a	= 10. 18-20	= I 79. 18-21a	= —
—	= 10. 21	= I. 79 21b-22a	= —
11. 80b-85a	= —	= —	= —
—	= —	= I 79 22b	= —
—	= 11. 1a	= I. 79. 23a	= —
—	= 11. 1b	= I 79. 23b	= 32. 50a
—	= 11. 2a	= —	= 32. 50b.
—	= 11 2b-3a	= —	= —
—	= 11 3b-4	= —	= 32. 51-52a.
11. 85b	= 11. 5a	= —	= 32. 52b.
11 86-89	= —	= —	= —
—	= 11. 5b-8	= —	= —
11. 90-91	= 11 9-10	= —	= 32. 53-54.
11. 92	= —	= —	= —
11. 93a	= —	= —	= 32. 55a.
11. 93b-94a	= 11. 11	= —	= 32. 55b-56a.

Skanda-p.VII (Prabhāsa-kh.).1,	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
—	= 11. 12a	= —	= —
11. 94b-95a	= —	= —	= —
11. 95b	= 11. 12b	= l. 79. 24a	= 32. 56b.
11. 95c-100	= —	= —	= —
Cf. 11. 101-102	= 11. 13-14a	= l. 79. 24b-25	= 32. 57.
11. 103a	= —	= —	= 32. 58a
11. 103b	= —	= —	= —
11. 104a	= —	= —	= 32. 58b.
11. 104b	= —	= —	= —
—	= 11. 14b	= l. 79. 26a	= —
—	= 11. 15a	= l. 79. 26b	= 32. 59a
11. 105a	= —	= —	= 32. 59b
—	= 11. 15b	= l. 72. 27a	= —
11. 105b	= 11. 16a	= l. 79. 27b	= 32. 60a.
11. 106a	= 11. 16b	= l. 79. 28a	= —
—	= 11. 17-18	= l. 79. 28b-30a	= —
11. 106b-109a	= —	= —	= —
11. 109b-110a	= 11. 19	= l. 79. 30b-31a	= 32. 60b-61a
11. 110b-112a	= —	= —	= —
11. 112b-113	= 11. 20-21a	= l. 79. 31b-32	= 32. 61b-62b.
11. 114	= —	= —	= —
11. 115	= 11. 21b	= l. 79. 33a	= 32. 62c.
11. 116a	= 11. 22a	= l. 79. 33b	= —
11. 116b	= —	= —	= —
11. 117-118	= 11. 22b-24a	= l. 79. 34-35	= 32. 63-64.
11. 119	= —	= —	= —
11. 120-122a	= 11. 24b-26b	= l. 79. 36-38a	= 32. 65-67a
11. 122b	= —	= —	= 32. 67b
11. 123	= —	= —	= —
11. 124a	= 11. 26c	= l. 79. 38b	= 32. 68a
11. 124b	= —	= —	= 32. 68b
11. 125-129	= 11. 27-31	= l. 79. 39-43	= 32. 69-73.
11. 130	= —	= —	= 32. 74
13. 131	= —	= —	= —

Skanda-p.VII (Prabhāsa-kh).1,	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
11 133-135	= —	= —	= —
—	= 11. 32a	= l. 79 44a	= 32. 75a (partly)
—	= —	= —	= 32 75b.
—	= 11. 32b	= l 79. 44b	= —
Cf.11. 132	= 11. 33	= l 79. 45	= —
Cf.11. 136a	= 11 34a	= l 79 46a	= —
Cf.11. 136b	= 11. 34b	= l 79. 46b	= 32. 76a.
11. 137a	= 11 35	= l. 79. 46c	= 32. 76b.
11. 137b-138a	= —	= —	= —
11 138b-140	= 11 36-38	= l 79. 47-49	= 32. 77-79
Cf.11 141a	= 11. 39a	= —	= 32. 80b.
—	= 11 39b	= —	= —
11. 141b	= —	= —	= 32. 80a
—	= 11. 40	= l. 79 50	= —
11. 142	= 11. 41	= l. 79. 51	= 32. 81.
11. 143a-148	= —	= —	= 32 82. 88
—	= 11 42-48a	= l 79. 52-57	= —
—	= 11. 48b-50	= —	= —
—	= —	= l 79 58-61	= —
—	= 11. 51a	= l 79 62a	= —
—	= —	= l 79. 62b	= —
—	= 11. 51b-53a	= l 79. 63-65a	= —
12. 1-2	= 11 53b-55	= l 79. 65b-67	= —
—	= 11 56a	= —	= —
12. 3-4a	= 11 56b-57	= l 79. 68-69a	= —
—	= 11 58-65	= l. 79 69b-75	= —
—	= —	= l. 79. 76	= —
—	= 11 66-67a	= l. 79. 77-78a	= —
—	= —	= l. 79. 78b	= —
—	= 11. 67b	= —	= —
—	= 11 68	= l. 79 79	= —
—	= —	= l. 79. 80	= —
—	= 11. 69	= l. 79. 81	= —

Skanda-p. VII (Prabhāsa-kh.).1,	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p	Brahma-p.
—	= —	= I. 79. 82	= —
—	= 11. 70	= —	= —
—	= 12. 1-2.	= I. 121. 1-2	= —
—	= 12 3	= —	= —
—	= 12. 4	= I 121.3	= —
11. 149a	= 12 5a	= I 121 4a	= 32. 89a.
11. 149b	= —	= —	= 32. 89b
—	= 12. 5b-8	= I. 121. 4b 7	= —
11. 149c	= 12. 9a	= I 121. 8a	= 32. 90a
—	= 12. 9b-10	= I 121. 8b 9	= —
11. 150-151	= 12. 11-13a	= I. 121. 10-12a	= 32. 90b-92
11. 152-163	= —	= —	= —
—	= —	= —	= 32. 93a
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.
11. 197	= —	= I. 123. 77	= —
11. 198-199	= —	= Cf. I. 123. 78-79	= —
11. 200b-201	= —	= I. 123. 80-81	= —
11. 203	= —	= I. 123. 82	= —
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Much more striking is the resemblance between Skanda-p. VII 100-101 and Bhav. I. 72-73 and 78 which agree not only in the number of verses but also in their contents. In Skanda-p. VII.1 100 and Bhav. I. 72 the sage Durvāsa is said to have cursed Sāmba to become a leper, because Sāmba imitated the uncouth look and movement of the sage; but in Sāmba-p., chap. 3, which corresponds to Skanda-p. VII.1.100, there is no such story of Durvāsa.

We are now in a position to discuss the dates of the different units of the present Sāmba-p.

This Purāṇa not only mentions the Mahābhārata in verse 15 of chap. 1 but also derives the majority of the verses of its chap. 45 (dealing with the story of the origin of shoes and umbrella) from the latter, viz.,

Sāmba-p.

Mahābhārata

Chap. 45, verses 3b-9, 10-25, = XIII (Anuśāsana-parvan). 95, verses
 27-29, 31a, 32, 34b, 7-13, 15-17a, 19 and 20b-28,
 35b-38, and 39 (cf.) 96, verses 1-2a, 3a, 4-8a, 12,
 13b-15, 18-19, and 20-21 (cf.)

It speaks of many 'Purāṇas',¹¹³ and refers most probably to the Skanda-p., Brahmānda-p., Vāyu-p., Mārkaṇḍeya-p., etc.¹¹⁴ It knows the week-days, as it mentions Sunday on several occasions.¹¹⁵ In Sāmba-p. 3 52-53 Sāmba is said to have enraged the sage Durvāsas and become the object of his curse which brought about the destruction of the Yadu family through a mace (*musala*) born of Sāmba.¹¹⁶ The mention of Durvāsas as cursing Sāmba to give birth to a mace is found in Bhāgavata-p. X 1 12ff. In the Mahābhārata (XVI. 1, 15ff.) and the Viṣṇu-p. (V.37.6ff.) the story of the birth of a *musala* from Sāmba is given, but in both these works Sāmba is said to have been cursed by the sages Viśvāmitra, Kanva and Nārada, but not by Durvāsas. So, the upper limit of the date of the Sāmba-p. should not be placed earlier than 500 A.D.

Again, the Sāmba-p. was mentioned by Alberūnī in 1030 A.D.¹¹⁷ Candēśvara quotes a verse from Sāmba-p., chap. 36 in his Kṛtya-ratnā-

113 Sāmba-p. 5 9b—vedesu ca purāṇesu sāṅgopāṅgesu giyate The word 'purāṇa' has also been used in the sense of 'old narrative' —See Sāmba-p. 1.16; 5 33, and so on

114 Sāmba-p. 1 8b-11—

tvayātra kathitā sūta purāṇā bahu-vistarā/
 sanmukhasya kathā cādaḥ punar brahmāṇḍam eva ca//
 vāyunāpi ca yat proktam tathā sāvarṇikena ca/
 mārkaṇḍeyena yat proktam yad vaiśampāyanena ca//
 dadhīcinā ca yat proktam yac ca śarvena bhāsitam/
 harināpi ca yat proktam rsiḥ samudāhrtam//
 bālakhilyaiś ca yat proktam yac (v l 'tac' in Ind Off. Ms)
 chrutam carsibhiḥ saha//

115 Sāmba-p. 36.28, 38.26; 46 3, 51 117, and so on

116 sāmbeṇa punar apy evam durvāsāḥ kopito munih/
 bhāvyenārthena cātyartham pūrvānusmarapena vai//
 prāptavān sumahacchāpam sāmbo vai manujottamah/
 tacchāpān musalam jātam kulam yenāśya pātitaḥ//

117 Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p 130

kara; Sūlapāṇi has a few lines from chap. 46 in his Vratakāla-viveka, Halāyudha has three verses from chaps. 24 and 36 in his Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva; Vallālasena draws upon chaps 36, 38 and 45 in his Dāna-sāgara; and Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda has, from chap. 9, a few lines (on the etymological meanings of the names 'Brahmā,' 'Varuṇa,' 'Mārtanda' and 'Mihira')¹¹⁸ in his commentary called *Ṭikā-sarvasva* on Amara-siṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana. Sarvānanda quotes from the Sāmba-p. another line¹¹⁹ which, as Sarvānanda says, was given in the Sāmba-p. in connection with the description of flags for different deities (dhvaja-nirṇaya), but which is not found in Sāmba-p., chap. 33 (dealing with the same topic). Besides these, a few more verses of the 'Sāmba-p.' are found quoted in Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya* (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 24), Ananta-bhaṭṭa's *Vidhāna-pārijāta*, II, p. 519, Gadādhara's *Kālasāra* (pp. 125-126), Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (I, p. 417), Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (III. ii, p. 644), and Jīmūtavāhana's *Kālavivēka* (pp. 417 and 492), but none of these verses is found in the present Sāmba-p. We have already seen that the text of Skanda-p. VII. i, chaps. 11-12, 100-101, 128 and 240¹²⁰ is based on Bhaviṣya-p. I, chaps. 72-73, 78-79, 121-123 and 128 and Brahma-p., chaps 31-32, that the Brahma-p. (chaps. 29-33) has borrowed a large number of verses from the Sāmba-p., and that the Bhaviṣya-p. has plagiarised a

118 The line, which Sarvānanda quotes from the Sāmba-p. on the etymological meaning of the name 'mihira', is 'miheti secane dhātur mehanān mihirah smṛtaḥ'. But this line is not found in the present Sāmba-p. That this line once did occur in chap. 9 of the present Sāmba-p. is shown definitely by the fact that though towards the beginning of this chapter the Sāmba-p. first gives the 24 names of the Sun and then proposes, in verse 15, to give the etymological meanings (dhātvartha-nigama) of these names, it actually gives the etymological meanings of 23 names, and makes no mention of the name 'mihira'.

119 *Ṭikā-sarvasva*, p. 20—

rad uktam sāmhapurāṇe dhvaja-nirṇaye—

tālas tālākṛtiḥ lāryo makaro makarākṛtiḥ.

This line (tālas tālākṛtiḥ) has its parallel in verse 38b of Bhav. I. 138 which corresponds to Sāmba-p., chap. 35.

120 For the comparatively late date of many of the chapters of the present Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, see foot-note 35 under Saura-p. in Vol. II of the present work. See also Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*, p. 163.

large section, including complete chapters, of the Sāmba-p. Now, Brahma-p. 29-33 (on Konārka in Orissa) are to be dated between 950 and 1200 A.D.,¹²¹ and the Bhaviṣya-p must have borrowed the chapters of the Sāmba-p. not later than 950 A.D., because Varāha-p., chap. 177¹²² mentions the story of Sāmba as occurring in the 'Bhaviṣyat-purāna,' and among the verses quoted by Jīmūtavāhana, Vallālasena and Hemādri from the Bhaviṣya-p there are some which are common to the Bhaviṣya and the Sāmba-p.¹²³ Hence the date of the Sāmba-p. cannot be placed later than 800 A.D.

Thus *the Sāmba-p. is to be dated between 500 and 800 A.D.* As this Purāna is mentioned in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas as well as in Matsya-p. 53 and Skanda-p. VII 1. 2, *it seems to have been composed towards the beginning of this period.* J. N. Farquhar also supposes, without adducing much evidence, that the present Sāmba-p. was written between 550 and 900 A.D.¹²⁴

The above date of the Sāmba-p. is certainly not the date of all its chapters. We have already seen that the chapters of the present Sāmba-p. are to be divided into two main groups, viz.,

- (1) chaps. 1-38, 44-46, and 84, and
- (2) chaps 39-43 and 47-83,

121 See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp 153-4 and 156

122 For the probable date of Varāha-p., chap. 177, see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp 105-106

123 Bhav. I 81. 2-3 and 15b-16a, quoted in Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, p 415, are the same as Sāmba-p 38. 26b-28a; Bhav I. 81 2, quoted in Kālaviveka p 492 and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 63, and II 1, p. 663, is the same as Sāmba-p 31 26b-27a; Bhav I. 93 42a, quoted in Vallālasena's Dānasāgara, p 681 is the same as Sāmba-p 38 55a, Bhav. I 81. 3, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II 1, p 663, is the same as Sāmba-p. 38. 27b-28a; Bhav I 208 4-16a, 17-18a, 21-22a and 30b-34a, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. 1, pp 687-690, are the same as Sāmba-p 46, verses 3b-4a, 5b-6, 7-9a, 10-20a and 28b-32; Bhav. I. 209 1-5a, 6b-12a and 13b-14a, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II 1, pp 724-725, are the same as Sāmba-p 46, verses 33b-37 and 40-46; Bhav. I, chaps. 55-57 and 58 (verses 1-33), quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II ii, pp 424-440, are very much the same as Sāmba-p., chaps 34 and 35; and so on.

124 Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p 205.

and that the chapters of the second group were added to the Sāmba-p. at a later date. We have also noted that among the chapters of the first group, there are a few interpolated ones, viz., chaps. 17, 22-23, 33 and 44-45, and that none of these interpolated chapters, except chap. 33, occurs in the Bhaviṣya-p. So, chap. 33, though spurious, must have been added to the Sāmba-p. before the Bhaviṣya-p. borrowed chapters from the Sāmba-p. Thus it is to be dated between 700 and 950 A. D. The remaining interpolated chapters, viz., 17, 22-23 and 44-45, which do not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p., must have been inserted after 950 A. D. This late date of insertion of these last-mentioned chapters must not be taken to indicate that all the verses of these chapters were composed at a later date. We have already seen that chap. 45 (dealing with the origin of shoes and umbrella) is composed of verses mostly taken from Mahābhārata XIII. 95 and 96. Chap. 44 also (which deals with manners and customs laid down in aphorisms and which records two metrical gāthās¹²⁵, one of which is said to have been sung by Yama) must have been based on an earlier work. As, of these two chapters (44-45), the latter is drawn upon by Vallālasena, and as chap. 45 refers to, and is introduced by, chap. 44, it is sure that chaps. 44 and 45 were inserted at the same time and that this insertion was made before 1050 A. D. It should be mentioned here that none of the early Nibandha-writers quotes even a single line from chap. 44, although it deals with manners and customs (ācāra).

The chapters of the second group do not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p. Unlike the chapters of the first group, they are full of Tantric elements. So, they must have been added to the Sāmba-p. after Vallālasena's time; otherwise, Vallālasena would never quote verses from the

125 atra gāthā yamena gītā—

āyur asya nikṛntati prajā nāśya bhavet tathā/
ya ucchistah prapathati svādhyāyam cādhigacchat //

and

atra gāthā—

ākrośaka-samo loke suhṛd anyo na vidyate/
yas tu duṣkṛtam ādāya sukrtenābhīśamsati //

Sāmba-p., so deep his hatred towards Tantricism was.¹²⁶ These chapters with Tantric elements seem to have been added before 1500 A. D., because Gadādhara quotes from the Sāmba-p. a line¹²⁷ in which a worshipper is directed to perform nyāsa according to the prescribed manner before worshipping the deity, and Mitra Miśra quotes a verse¹²⁸ in which people, who have deviated from the path of the Vedas, are advised to take recourse to Tantras in order that they may gradually return to the path of the Vedas. Likewise, Ananta-bhaṭṭa quotes from the same Purāna another verse which says, "For the sake of those who deviated from the Veda the lord of Kamalā spoke out the Pāñcarātra (Tantra), the Bhāgavata (Tantra) and the Tantra named Vaikhānasa."¹²⁹

The results of the above analysis, so far as chronology is concerned, are as follows:—

Group I—

- (1) Chaps. 1 (except verses 17-25 which give the contents of the spurious chapters), 2-15, 16, 18-21, 24-32, 34-38, 46 and 84. —Composed between 500 and 800 A. D. (Most probably towards the beginning of this period).
- (2) Chaps. 17 and 22-23 —Added later than 950 A. D.
- (3) Chap. 33 —Added between 700 and 950 A. D.
- (4) Chaps 44-45 —Inserted into the Sāmba-p. between 950 and 1050 A.D.

Group II—

- (1) Chaps. 39-43 and 47-83 —Added between 1250 and 1500 A. D.

126 For the names of the Purānas and Upapurānas which Vallālasena rejected wholly or partly as unauthoritative for their Tantric elements see Dāna-sāgara, p. 7 (verses 59 and 63-67)

127 Kālasāra, p. 126—evam nyāsa-vidhim krtvā tatah pūjām samācarec

128 śruti-bhrastah śruti-prokta-prāyaścitte bhayam gatah/
kramena śruti-siddhyartham manusyas tantram āśrayet//

(Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 23)

129 pañcarātram bhāgavatam tantram vaikhānasābhidham/
veda-bhrastān samuddiśya kamalā-patir uktavān//

Vidhāna-pārijāta, II, p. 519

- (The second group is made up of a few units, viz.,
- (a) chaps. 39-41 —on initiation to Sun-worship,
 - (b) chaps. 42-43 —on the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean,
 - (c) chaps. 47-52 —on japa-yajña-vidhi, mudrā-laksana, pūjā-vidhāna, etc. ;
 - (d) chaps. 53-55 (verses 1-97) —which are originally Saura
 - (e) chaps. 55 (verses 98 ff.)-83 —which exhibit Śaiva influence and seem to have belonged originally to some other work).

The original chapters, which are now found in the present Sāmba-p., were not all that constituted this Purāna originally. That several chapters have been lost, or rather eliminated, from this Purāna, will be clear from the following evidences.

After narrating how Sāmba dishonoured Nārada and became the object of Kṛṣṇa's curse Vasiṣṭha says in Sāmba-p. 3. 52-53—

“sāmbena punar apy evaṃ durvāsāḥ kopito munih/
bhāvyenārthena cātyartham pūrvānusmaraṇena vai//
prāptavān sumahacchāpam sāmba vai manujottamah/
tacchāpān musalam jātam kulam yenāsyā pātitam//”

“(Being urged) by destiny and by the recollection of the previous (event) Sāmba enraged very much the sage Durvāsas again in the same way. Sāmba, the best of men, received a severe curse, (and) due to that curse there was born a mace which destroyed his family”. The words ‘punar api’ and ‘pūrvānusmaraṇena’ in the former verse show that the story of Sāmba's creation of Nārada's displeasure and his incurring the curse of Kṛṣṇa was preceded by the story of Sāmba's incurring the displeasure of Durvāsas and becoming the object of the latter's curse. But in the present Sāmba-p. there is no such story about Durvāsas. That this story once occurred in the Sāmba-p. is shown by the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 72. 14-20) which states that once Durvāsas came to Dvāravatī in course of his wanderings. At the sight of the tawny eyes, extremely emaciated body, and ugly look of the sage, Sāmba, who was proud of his physical beauty, ridiculed him by imitating his uncouth look and movement. Durvāsas was enraged at Sāmba's behaviour and cursed him to become a leper before long.

This Purāna then narrates, like the Sāmba-p., the story of Nārada's arrival at Dvāravatī in order to see Vāsudeva, Sāmba's negligence towards the sage, and Kṛṣṇa's curse on Sāmba, and concludes with the verse—

sāmbena punar apy eva durvāsāḥ kopito munih/
tac-chāpān musalam jātaṁ kulam yenāśya ghātitaṁ//
(Bhav. I 73. 44).

These stories of Durvāsas and Nārada are also found in Skanda-p. VII. 1. 100 (verses 12-17) and 101 (verses 1-43) which are the same as Bhav. I. 72 (verses 14-20) and 73 (verses 1-43a).

In Bhav. I. 140.23a Sāmba asks Vyāsa to tell him who the Magas and the Bhojakas were and how they became the worshippers of the Sun (katham pūjākarā hy etc kim magāḥ kim ca bhojakāḥ). Consequently, in Bhav. I. 140. 29ff. Vyāsa speaks on the Magas and the Bhojakas *'in the same way as he was told about these by Vasīṣṭha'* (cf. yathākhyātam vasīṣṭhena tathā te vacmi kṛtsnaśaḥ—Bhav. I. 140. 30b) and says at the end of Bhav. I. 144—

“makāra-dhyāna-yogāc ca magā hy etc prakīrtitāḥ//
dhūpa-mālyair yataś cāpi upahāraḥ tathaiva ca/
bhojayanti sahasrāmśum tena te bhojakāḥ smṛtāḥ//”

But in Sāmba-p, chap. 27 (in which Vasīṣṭha speaks to king Bṛhadbala, and of which verses 1-4 agree with Bhav. I. 140. 20-23, and verses 6-18 and 19b-23 agree with Bhav. I. 144. 9b-16a, 17-24 and 25b-26) there is no account of the Bhojakas; and the word 'bhojaka' has been replaced, obviously for the sake of this elimination, by the word 'yājaka' in Sāmba-p 27. 4a ('katham pūjākarā hy etc kim magāḥ kim ca yājakāḥ' which corresponds to Bhav. I. 143 23a mentioned above) and 22b-23 (makāra-dhyāna-yogāc ca magā¹³⁰ hy etc prakīrtitāḥ// dhūpa-mālyair japaiś cāpi hy upahāraḥ tathaiva ca// ye yajanti sahasrāmśum tena te yājakāḥ smṛtāḥ//). Nay, in other verses also of the Sāmba-p. the word 'yājaka' has been substituted for the word 'bhojaka'¹³¹. That the word 'yājaka', now found in the

¹³⁰ The printed text wrongly reads 'mayā' for 'magāḥ'.

¹³¹ See Sāmba-p. 30. 22b—brāhmanebhyas tato dattvā yājakebhyas ca daksinām (=Bhav I. 131. 36b—.. .. dattvā bhojakebhyas ca.... ..),

It is even said in the Bhaviṣya-p. that none becomes entitled to attain final emancipation without acquiring the qualifications of a Bhojaka¹³⁵. But in Bhav. I. 139. 9b-69 (which are not found in the Sāmba-p.), the Magas and the Bhojakas are described as the descendants of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra) who was cursed to be regarded as 'apūjya' (not deserving honour) by the Fire sustained by Hāralilā (or Hāvanī), daughter of the sage Ṛjīśvan; and in Bhav. I. 140, verses 1-19 and 24-50 and chap. 141 (which also do not occur in the Sāmba-p.) the Bhojakas are said to have descended from those ten of the eighteen Sun-worshipping Magas who were married to the girls of the Kṣatriyan Bhoja family by Sāmba¹³⁶. From these stories of the Bhaviṣya-p., which are mostly imaginary but not without any basis on historical facts, and from the other accounts of the Magas and the Bhojakas as occurring in the common portions of the Bhaviṣya and the Sāmba-p. we make the following deductions:

(i) The Sun-worshipping Magas, who came to India in early times, were, in course of time, divided into two groups known as Magas and Bhojakas.

(ii) In spite of their ritualistic, and sometimes ideological, differences, which appear to have been partly responsible for their separation, the Bhojakas were at first regarded as holy Brahmins¹³⁷ as much as, or even more than, the Magas.

(iii) Due to their objectionable activities and matrimonial relations, as known from Bhav. I. 140 (except verses 20-23), 141 and 146 (which do not occur in the Sāmba-p.), the Bhojakas came to lose their position of respect with the progress of time and turned Devalaka Brahmins (temple-priests) attached to Sun-temples. They were hated so much that other Brahmins looked upon them as 'apāṅk-

135 Bhav I. 144 7a—

nāgatvā bhojakatvam hi mokṣam āpnoti kaścana

See also Bhav. I. 171-172 in which Bhojakas have been praised, so much so that they have been identified with the Sun himself (tat sūryo bhojakah so 'tra bhojakah sūrya eva hi —Bhav I. 172 51a).

136 See especially Bhav I. 140 (verses 7-19) and 141 (verses 4-10).

137 Cf Bhav. I. 141 9a—

bhojakāms tān ganān prāhur brāhmanān divya-samjñitān.

teya' (unfit for sitting in the same row with them at meals) and did not take food prepared or served by them¹³⁸. In his Bhāṣya on Manu-smṛiti 2. 6 Medhātithi names the Bhojakas as extra-Vedic people having no connection with the Vedas¹³⁹.

(iv) Besides the Sun-worshipping Magas and Bhojakas mentioned above, there came to India in later times other Magas who were the Fire-worshipping followers of Zoroaster and must have left Iran as a result of the spread of Islam after the sixth century A. D.

(v) The Sun-worshipping Magas did not look upon these Fire-worshipping followers of Zoroaster with respect. They recognised these new Magas as Brahmins of low status like the Bhojakas, and, in order to win them over to Sun-worship, invented the story of the birth of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra, i.e. Zoroaster), from whom both the Fire-worshipping Magas and the Sun-worshipping Bhojakas are said to have descended. The motive underlying this peculiar story is evidently to impress upon the Fire-worshipping Magas that their religious leader Zoroaster was really the son of the Sun and worshipped the Sun-god in the form of Fire, that they could attain final liberation from bondage not by Fire-worship but by worshipping the Sun through Fire as a medium, and that they were free to retain, to a great extent, their own peculiar practices, viz., use of 'patidāna', holding of 'pūrṇaka' and 'varśmā', having matted hair and beards, offering of Soma during worship, and so on.

(vi) A section of the Fire-worshipping Magas must have been absorbed by the Bhojakas, and this seems to be the cause why both the Fire-worshipping Magas and the Sun-worshipping Bhojakas have been said to be the descendants of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra).

138 Bhav. I 146. 1-3—

śatānika uvāca—

ya ete bhojakāḥ proktā devadevasya pūjakāḥ/

nānnaṃ bhojyam athaitesāṃ brāhmaṇaiś ca kadācana//

...

...

abhojyatvaṃ katham yātā bhojakās tad vadasva me//

139 See Medhātithi's Bhāṣya on Manu-smṛiti 2. 6—na hi śākya-bhojaka-kṣapaṇakādinām veda-sambhavaḥ.... .. / evaṃ sarva eva bāhyā bhojaka-pāñcarātri-ka-nirgranth-ānarthāvāda-pāśupata-prabhrtayah...../.

From inscriptional evidence we learn that the Bhojakas enjoyed a respectable position at least down to the eighth century A.D. Narasimhagupta Bālāditya and Jīvitagupta II, who reigned in Magadha in the fifth and eighth centuries A.D. respectively, are said to have shown respect to the Bhojaka Brahmins of Magadha and to have made donations of land to them.¹⁴⁰ But from the tenth century A.D. the descendants of Brahmins from Śāka-dvīpa called their ancestors 'Magas' or 'Śāka-dvīpī' Brahmins but not 'Bhojakas' at least in Magadha and Bengal. This fact is evidenced not only by a number of inscriptions (such as the Govindapura stone inscription¹⁴¹ which mentions the Māna kings of Magadha), but also by the Kulajī-granthas and other works.¹⁴² It is clearly for this lowered position of the Bhojakas that the word 'bhojaka' has been replaced with the word 'yājaka' in the Sāmba-p., and this replacement seems to have been made by the people of Orissa who added chaps. 42-43 to the Sāmba-p. in order to glorify the Sun's place on the sea-coast there.

Scholars are inclined to regard the Sāmba-p. as 'a Saura document connected with Orissa'.¹⁴³ But this view is untenable. We have already seen that the present Sāmba-p. is originally a work connected with Mitravana in the Punjab and that it is only the interpolated chaps. 42-43 which deal with the Sun's penance-forest in Orissa.

The present Sāmba-p. must have been written in Northern India, and most probably in its western part. With the exception of the rivers Tapatī and Payoṣṇī, all the holy places and rivers, mentioned in this Purāṇa, belong to Northern India, especially to its western part.¹⁴⁴

140 Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III (Gupta Inscriptions), p. 217

141 For this inscription see Nagendra Nath Vasu, *Castes and Sects of Bengal*, IV, pp. 59-64-

142 For the names of many of these works as well as for the relevant extracts from them, see Nagendra Nath Vasu, *Castes and Sects of Bengal*, IV, pp. 66ff.

143 Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 205. Nagendra Nath Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja*, Vol I, p. xii; and Viśvakosa (a Bengali encyclopaedia), Vol IV, pp. 545-548. Mano Mohan Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 439ff.

144 See foot-note 62 above,

According to the Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. the Sāmba-p. was also called 'Susūksma'.¹⁴⁵ A 'Bhāskara-purāṇa' is mentioned in Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). 199. 4-5 as dealing with the story of the birth of the two Nāsatyas (nose-born, i.e. the Aśvins) in connection with the praise of Mārtanda.¹⁴⁶ This 'Bhāskara-purāṇa' may be the same as the present Sāmba-p., because the latter also calls itself 'bhāskarasya purāṇam' in verse 13 of chap. 1 and contains the story of the birth of the Aśvins in chaps. 10-11. In his Malamāsa-tattva Raghunandana gives from the 'Kaurma' (i.e. Kūrma-p.) a list of Upapurāṇas including the Sāmba-p. and a Purāṇa 'named Bhāskara' (bhāskarāhvayam).¹⁴⁷ So, this Bhāskara-p. of the Malamāsa-tattva must be different from the Sāmba-p. Both Raghunandana and Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, the commentator on the Malamāsa-tattva, identify this Bhāskara-p. with the Āditya-p.¹⁴⁸

D. R. Bhandarkar mentions a Sūrya-purāṇa as known to the Brahmins called Sevaks, who live round about Jodhpur.¹⁴⁹ But as we

145 Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382—

tatah sāmhapurāṇākhyaṃ susūksmaṃ iti ceritam

146 yudhiṣṭhira uvāca—

ādityasya sutaṃ tāta nāsatyau yena hetunā/

saṃjātau śrotum icchāmi nīrṇayam paramam dvija//

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca—

purāṇe bhāskare tāta etad vistarato mayā/

saṃśrutaṃ devadevasya mārtaṇḍasya mahātmanah//

147 Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3

148 Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3—

kaurme—

'anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāny api/

tāni ca narasiṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāṇādinī, yathā—

'ādyam sanatkumāroktam nārasimhaṃ tatah param/' etc.

See also Malamāsa-tattva (Candīcarana Smṛtibhūṣana's edition with Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's com.), pp. 212-3—bhāskarāhvayam āditya-purāṇam,

149 'Round about Jōdhpur there is a class of Brāhmanas known as Sēvaks, most of whom are religious dependants of the Osvāl Śrāvaks. They call themselves Sākadvīpa Brāhmanas and know that their story is told in the Nāmagrantha of the Sūrya-purāṇa and also in the Bhavīsyā-purāṇa'.—Ep Ind., IX, p. 279.

are quite ignorant of the contents of this Purāṇa, we do not know whether it is the same as the Sāmba-p. or not.

The whole of the present Sāmba-p. is not metrical. There are portions which are written in prose (viz., in chaps 39, 41, 52, and so on). Chap. 44 is written in a sūtra form.

We have already seen that the Sāmba-p. has borrowed verses from the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata. It has also derived verses from the Bhagavad-gītā¹⁵⁰ and the Upanisads

Though, as we have already seen, the present Sāmba-p. in its original form was connected with Mitravana of the Punjab, it must have known the other two most prominent places of Sun-worship, viz., Kālapriya and Sūtira. This is evidenced by the verse

“sāmnidhyaṃ mama pūrvāhne udite rajyate janah/
kālātyaye ca madhyāhne sāyāhne cātra nityaśah//” (Sāmba-p. 26.14) which is a changed form of the original verse

“sāmnidhyaṃ mama pūrvāhne sūtire drakṣyate janah/
kālapriye ca madhyāhne 'parāhne cātra nityaśah//”

retained in Bhav. I. 129 16b-17a. That Sūtira was the same as Mundira mentioned in the Bhaviṣya-p., Skanda-p. etc and was situated in Orissa, and that Kālapriya was situated on the bank of the Yamunā, will be evident from the following discussion.

According to Bhav. I. 72. 4-6 the three places of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa are Muṇḍira, Kālapriya and Mitravana, and it is only at Sāmbapura (in Mitravana) that the Sun resides permanently.¹⁵¹

150 See, for instance, Sāmba-p 5 20 and 14 17 (=Bhagavad-gītā 13. 13).

151 sthānāni trīni devasya dvīpe 'smiṇ bhāskarasya tu/
pūrvam indraṇam (v l 'mitrabalam' and 'mitraṇam'
for 'indraṇam') nāma tathā mundiram ucyate//
kālapriyam (v l kolapriyam) trīyam tu trīsu lokesu viśrutam/
tathānyad api te vacmi yat purā brahmanoditam//
candrabhāgā-tate nāmnā puram yat sāmba-samjñitam/
dvīpe 'smiṇ chāśvatam sthānam yatra sūryasya nityatā//

Though the reading 'indraṇam' occurs in the body of the text of our printed edition as well as in the Ms of the Bhaviṣya-p described by Aufrecht in his Bod Cat. (p. 31, foot-note 6), the reading 'mitraṇam' is undoubtedly the

But in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a the Sun, speaking of Mitravana, says:

“sāmnidhyam mama pūrvāhṇe sutīre drakṣyate janah/
kālāpriye ca madhyāhṇe 'parāhṇe cātra nityaśah//”

“People will ever see my proximity at Sutīra in the forenoon, at Kālāpriya at mid-day, and here in the afternoon”. Thus in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a the names of the three places of the Sun are given as Sutīra, Kālāpriya and Mitravana. In Bhav. I. 189. 23-26 Puṇḍīrasvāmin,¹⁵² Kālāpriya and Mūlasthāna have been mentioned among the places which are said to be resorted to by gods and Siddhas; and in Bhav. I. 55. 27 Puṇḍīrasvāmin,¹⁵³ Kālāpriya and Mitravana are found mentioned among the holy places from which water should be collected for bathing the Sun's image in its annual worship. In Varāha-p. 177, in which the story of Sāmba's penance for the Sun's favour in order to get rid of leprosy caused by Kṛṣṇa's curse¹⁵⁴ has been narrated briefly with the mention of the 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' as the source, Sāmba is said to have established three images of the Sun—one on the Udayācala, another, named Kālāpriya, on the south of the Yamunā, and the

correct one: because the name 'Mitravana' has been mentioned in a large number of verses in the Bhaviṣya-p., whereas there is no second mention of 'Indravana' anywhere in the whole Purāṇa. Moreover, Skanda-p. VII. i. 100. 2b-3a, which reproduces the verse 'sthānāni tṛiṇi devasya' of the Bhaviṣya-p., reads 'mītravanam' and not 'indravanam'; and in the Sāmba-p., the name of the place is given as Mitravana in all cases.

Antreicht's Ms of the Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'munḍāram' for 'munḍīram'. But the evidences of the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 100. 3a and 139. 11a) and the Sāmba-p. (43. 41 and 53) show that the reading 'munḍīram' is the correct one.

For the name 'Kālāpriya' see Antreicht's Ms of the Bhaviṣya-p., Varāha-p. 177. 52, Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11b, and Bhav. I. 129. 17a.

152-153 'Puṇḍīrasvāmi' and 'Sunḍīrasvāmi' are obviously mistakes for 'Munḍīrasvāmi'. Cf. Skanda-p. VIII. i. 139. 11 (munḍīra-svāmīnam prātar gaṅgā-sāgata-saṅgame), Bhav. I. 72. 4 (.....munḍīram ucyaṭe), and Sāmba-p. 43. 41b and 53b (munḍīram).

154 For the story of Sāmba as given in Varāha-p., chap. 177, see foot-note 87 above.

third, named Mūlasthāna, on the Astamānācala.¹⁵⁵ So, from the Varāha-p. we get the names of the three places of Sun-worship as Udayācala, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna.¹⁵⁶ According to Skanda-p. VII. 1. 139. 11-12a the Sun resided in the morning at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama as Muṇḍīrasvāmin; at mid-day he resorted to the bank of the Yamunā as Kālapriya, and in the evening he remained on the bank of the Candrabhāgā as Mūlasthāna.¹⁵⁷ In Skanda-p. VI.76 also the names of the three places and forms of Bhāskara have been given as Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna, and it has been said that the Sun presents himself at Muṇḍīra after the expiry of the night, at Kālapriya at mid-day, and at Mūlasthāna at the approach of the night, that Muṇḍīra is situated 'in the eastern part of the earth', Kālapriya in its middle, and Mūlasthāna (in its western part) beyond Kālapriya, and that, while residing at Muṇḍīra and Kālapriya, the Sun is also known as Muṇḍīrasvāmin and Kālanātha (or Kālavallabha) respectively.¹⁵⁸ So, according to the Skanda-p. the names of the three places of the Sun are Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna.

155 Verses 51b-53—

sāmbah sūrya-pratiṣṭhām ca kārayāmāsa tattvavit/
 udayācale ca samśrito yamunāyāś ca daksine//
 madhye kālapriyaṃ devaṃ madhyāhne sthāpya cottamam/
 mūlasthānam tatah paścād astamānācale ravim//
 sthāpya trimūrtim sāmbar tu//

156 The use of the names Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna for the images of the Sun situated on the south of the Yamunā and on the Astamānācala respectively, need not confuse us. These names for the images must have been derived from the names of the places at which these images were situated. Similar instances of the use of place-names for those of the images are found in Varāha-p. 177. 54-56 (in which Sāmbapura is mentioned as the name of an image of the Sun at Mathurā), and Sāmba-p. 43. 39-41 (in which 'Muṇḍīra' is said to be a name of the Sun's image established by Manus in the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean)

157 mundīrasvāminam prātar gangā-sāgara-saṅgame/
 kālapriyam tu madhyāhne yamunā-tīram āśritam//
 mūlasthānam cāstamane candrabhāgā-tate sthitam//

158 See Sk VI. 76 1-3, 5, 22. 44-45, 59-60, 71. Of these, verses 3 and 5 run as follows:—

tatra samkramate sūryo muṇḍīre rajani kṣaye/
 kālapriye ca madhyāhne mūlasthāne kṣapāgame//

As regards the position of these places, the Bhaviṣya and the Skanda-p. say that the Sun is close to Sūtira (or Muṇḍira according to the Skanda-p.) in the forenoon, to Kālapriya at mid-day, and to Mitravana (or Mūlasthāna according to the Skanda-p.) in the afternoon.¹⁵⁹ The Varāha-p. also contains clear references to the belief that the greatest benefit was derived by worshipping the rising Sun on the Udayācala, the mid-day Sun at Kālapriya, and the setting Sun at Mūlasthāna.¹⁶⁰ Hence it is evident that Muṇḍira, Sūtira and Udayācala were situated in the eastern part of India, Kālapriya in the middle, and Mitravana and Mūlasthāna in its western part. Now, Mūlasthāna (literally meaning 'original place'), which is said in the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 139. 12a) to have been situated on the bank of the Candrabhāgā and in the Padma-p. to have been the abode of Sāmba and which is mentioned in Bhav. I. 189. 24-25 along with Puṇḍīrasvāmin and Kālapriya, must be the same as Mitravana (in the Punjab)¹⁶¹ which is said to be the ādya-sthāna (original place) of the

muṇḍirah pūrva-dig-bhāge dharitryāḥ śrūyate kila/
madhye kālapriyo devo mūlasthānam tad-antare//

159 See Bhav. I. 129 16b-17a cited above, and Skanda-p. VII. i. 139 11-12a and VI. 76. 3 and 5 cited in the two immediately preceding foot-notes (157 and 158).

160 Cf. Varāha-p. 177. 36-38a—

yathodayācale devam ārādhyā labhate phalam/
mathurāyām tathā gatvā satsūrye labhate phalam//
madhyāhne ca tathā devam phalapriyam akalmasam/
mathurāyām ca madhyāhne madhyamdina-ravau tathā/
astamgate tathā devam sadyo rājya-phalam bhavet/
mathurāyām tathā punyam udayāstam raver japam//

(Did the third line read 'madhyāhne ca yathā devam kālapriyam akalmasam'?)

See also Varāha-p. 177. 31-32—

sāmba sāmba mahābāho śrṇu jāmbavatī-suta/
udayācale ca pūrvāhne udyantam tu vibhāvasum//
namaskuru yathānyāyam vedopaniṣadādibhiḥ/
tvayoditam raviḥ śrutvā tuṣṭim yāsyati nānyathā//

Cf. also Varāha-p. 177. 52-53 cited in foot-note 155 above

161 For the identification of Mitravana with Mūlasthāna (modern Multan) in the Punjab, see Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc., p. 154, Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 152, N. L. De, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, pp. 133-4; and so on

Sun in a number of places both in the Bhaviṣya and the Sāmba-p., and Kālapriya was evidently situated on the southern bank of the Yamunā, as the Varāha and the Skanda-p. show.¹⁶² So, the problems, which remain to be solved, are whether Mundīra, Sutīra and Udayācala are identical, and where we are to locate the place or places bearing these names.

We have already seen that in its two lists of the names of the three prominent places of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa the Bhaviṣya-p. mentions 'Mundīra' in the one (viz., I. 72-4) but replaces it by 'Sutīra' in the other (viz., I. 129. 16b). So, according to the Bhaviṣya-p. Mundīra and Sutīra are identical. This identification is supported by the Sāmba-p. (chaps. 42-43) which informs us that the 'beautiful' (*ramya*) penance-forest of the Sun (in Orissa) was situated on the 'shore' (*tīra*) of the salt-ocean (*lavanodadhī*), that the sight of the rising Sun there was deemed highly meritorious, and that the Sun's image, which was established there by Manus, was given a name 'Mundīra'.¹⁶³ So, Sutīra (literally meaning 'beautiful shore') must be another name for Mundīra, which, again, must be very close to, or even identical with, Konārka¹⁶⁴ situated on the sea-shore very close to the river Candrabhāgā (a branch of the river Prācī in Orissa). In Sāmba-p., chaps. 42-43 the Sun's penance-forest on the sea-shore

162 Varāha-p 177 52 Skanda-p VII 1 139 11.

163 Sāmba-p 43 40-41—

tato nāma prakurvanti samprahrsta-tanūruhāh/
anena munditāh sarve tena mundita ucyate//
atha krtārtha-samjñāś ca nigamaññair udāhrtāh/
mundi pramardane dhātuh samjñāyām ca vidhīyate/
prakarsād ardayed yena tena mundira ucyate//

Also Sāmba-p 43 53-54a—

ekā mūrtir dvidhā krtvā bhūtalesv avatāritā/
pratyūse caiva mundiram ye paśyanti narāh saḥrt//
na kadācid bhayam śoko rogas tesām prapadyate/

164 Though the name 'Konārka' does not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p., the Sun is called 'kona-vallabha' in Bhav I 153. 50 So, it seems that in later times Mundīra came to be known as Konārka because of its position in the north-east corner (*kona*) with respect to Puri (See Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p 437)

(in Orissa) has been called Sūrya-kānana, Ravi-kṣetra and Sūrya-kṣetra and once Mitravana;¹⁶⁵ in the Kapila-saṃhitā Konārka has been called Maitreya Vana and Ravi-kṣetra;¹⁶⁶ and in Brahma-p., chaps. 28-32 the place (kṣetra) of Koṇāditya or Koṇārka in Utkala (or Oḍḍadeśa) is called 'sūryasya kṣetram' (28. 10), 'raveḥ kṣetram' (28. 17), 'savituh kṣetram' (28. 62) and 'bhāskarasya kṣetram' (29. 1), Mitravana, situated on the bank of the Candra-sarīt, has been identified with this holy place of the Sun, and the Sun's devotees, attending this place, are directed to worship the rising Sun there with the three-syllabled *mantra*.¹⁶⁷

By its mention that in the morning the Sun remained at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama as Muṇḍīrasvāmin, the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 139. 11) appears to disprove the above identification of Muṇḍīra with the Sun's penance-forest (called Mitravana) in Orissa, because the word 'gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama' is generally used to mean the place where the Bhāgīrathī falls into the sea. But the Bhaviṣya-p., which mentions Gaṅgā-dvāra, Gaṅgā-sāgara (i.e. the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī), Kālapriya, Mitravana and Muṇḍīrasvāmin (which must be a mistake for Muṇḍīrasvāmin) in its list of different holy places and rivers to be named during the bathing of the Sun's image in its annual worship,¹⁶⁸ shows clearly that Muṇḍīrasvāmin and Gaṅgā-sāgara (the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī) do not refer to the same place. So, the word 'gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama', as occurring in Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11, must be taken to mean the place where the river Candrabhāgā (a branch of the river Prācī in Orissa) falls into the sea, because in the Purāṇas all rivers which flow into the sea are called 'Gaṅgā'.¹⁶⁹ Or, it may mean the mouth of the Sūrya-gaṅgā, which is mentioned in the Kapila-saṃhitā as one of the holy places and rivers in Arkakṣetra. In the

165 Sāmba-p. 42. 2.

166 ASB Ms (No. 311), chap. 6.

167 udyantam bhāskaram dr̥ṣtvā sāndra-sindūra-sannibham/
tryakṣareṇa tu mantrēṇa sūryāyārghyam nivedayet//

Brahma-p. 28. 32-33.

168 Bhav. I. 55. 24-30.

169 sarvāḥ puṇyāḥ sarasvatyaḥ sarvā gaṅgāḥ samudragāḥ —Mārkaṇḍeya-p. 57. 30b; Vāyu-p. 45. 108a (v.l. sarasvatyāḥ); and so on,

Padma-p. (Pātāla-khaṇḍa) there is mention of a Gangā-sāgara-saṅgama near Purusottama-kṣetra (modern Puri).¹⁷⁰

As regards Udayācala, we are not absolutely sure whether it is the same as the Udayagiri in Orissa, because, in his Kathā-sarīt-sāgara Somadeva mentions an Udayādri, the abode of Siddhas (siddha-kṣetra), as situated much farther east from Paundravardhana (most probably beyond Kāmarūpa),¹⁷¹ and in their description of Kūrma-saṁsthāna, the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. (chap. 58) and the Bṛhat-saṁhitā (chap. 14) mention Prāgjyotiṣa, Lauhitya, Udayagiri, Paundra etc. as situated in the east. But the Kālikā-p., which names the holy places, mountains, rivers, lakes and pools in and about Kāmarūpa, including the Ravikṣetra (Sun's place)¹⁷² lying between the river Sumadanā on the west and the Brahma-kṣetra on the east and containing a temple of the Sun, is silent about any Udayācala in or near Kāmarūpa, although it mentions a mountain called Samdhyācala of that locality. So, the Udayācala of the Varāha-p. is most probably to be taken to be the same as the Udayagiri in Orissa.

The great popularity of the story of Sāmba as the antiquated founder of the Sun-temple and the Sun's image at Mitravana (in the Punjab) tempted the people of different parts of India to connect their own Sun-temples and Sun-images with Sāmba as the founder. Thus, Skanda-p. VII. 1. 100 says that Sāmba established an image of the Sun, named Sāmbāditya, in Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and that the place at which this image was established was called Sāmbapura; according to Skanda-p. VII. 1. 139. 22 the Sun was called Sāmba at Vardhamāna

170 See Padma-p., Pātāla-khaṇḍa, chaps 19 and 21-22 [In chaps 17-22 there is the story of a king named Ratnagrīva of Kāñci, who, in course of his pilgrimage, went to Purusottama-kṣetra and visited Purusottama after bathing at Gangā-sāgara-saṅgama] See also Sāhitya-Parīsat-Patrikā, XLII, 1343 B.S., pp. 80-81 (for information regarding the presence of a Gangā-sāgara-saṅgama near Puri)

171 Kathāsaritsāgara, pp. 67-69 The Vidūsaka, who went to the Udayādri successively through Tāmralipta, Karkotaka and Paundravardhana in search of the Vidyādhari princess named Bhadrā, is said to have travelled over 60 *yojanas* of difficult (durgama) country, crossed the Śitodā, a river that cannot be crossed by mortals, and reached the border of the mountain of the rising Sun.

172 Kālikā-p. 81. 39-53.

(*vardhamāne ca sāmākhyam*); in the *Brahma-p.* the Sun's image, called *Koṇāditya*, at *Konārka* is said to have been established by *Sāmba*; and so on. It is for this reason that in *Skanda-p.* VII. i. 100 the third important place, except *Mitravana* and *Mundira*, of Sun-worship in *Jambu-dvīpa* is called *Sāmbapura*, the place of *Sāmbāditya*, in *Prabhāsa-kṣetra*, and not *Kālapriya*.

The names of *Mundira*, *Kālapriya*, and *Mitravana* (in the Punjab) as prominent places of Sun-worship were known to the original author of the *Sāmba-p.* as well as to the interpolator of chaps. 42-43,¹⁷³ but the latter was so anxious for adding to the importance of *Mitravana* in *Orissa* that he eliminated the lines

sthānāni trīṇi devasya dvīpe 'smīn bhāskarasya tu/
pūrvam mītravanam nāma tathā muṇḍīram ucyaṭe/
kālapriyam tṛtīyam tu triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam//

from chap. 3 and distorted those original verses of the *Sāmba-p.* which contained, or referred to, the names of these prominent places of Sun-worship, in order that *Mitravana* in *Orissa* might be regarded as the only sacred place of the Sun.

From what has been said above it is clear that the Magian Sun-worship spread at least as far as *Orissa* even before the time of composition of the present *Sāmba-p.*

173 Cf. *Sāmba-p.* 26 14—

sāmnidhyam mama pūrvāhne udite drakṣyate janah/
kālatyaye ca madhyāhne sāvāhne cātra nityaśah//

which is the distorted form of the original verse 'sāmnidhyam mama pūrvāhne sutire drakṣyate janah etc' retained in *Bhav. I.* 129 16b-17a.

Cf. also *Sāmba-p.* 43 36b-37a—

sthāpayitvā raviṃ bhaktyā triṣṭhāneṣu surottamāh/
nīrtim yānti sukrto devakāryārtha-tatparāh//

Sāmba-p. 43 50b—

yām yām kriyām samārabhet sūryakṣetresu mānavah/
etc. etc etc

(Note the plural number in 'sūryakṣetresu').

And *Sāmba-p.* 42. 53b-56a—

pratyūṣe caiva muṇḍīram ye paśyanti narāḥ sakrt/
na kadācid bhayaṃ śoko rogas tesām prapadyate//
kālahṛtkālapriyā ca madhyāhne ye tv aveksakāh/
tesām eva sukhodarko hy acireṇaiva jāyate//
sāmba-kṛte pure bhānuh sāvāhne yair udikṣīrah/
sadyah sampadyate tesām dharmakāmārtha-sādhanaṃ//

CHAPTER III

THE MAJOR VAISNAVA UPAPURĀNAS

In this chapter we shall analyse three Upapurāṇas, viz., Viṣṇu-dharma, Viṣṇudharmottara and Naraśiṃha-purāṇa. All these works come from early dates and enjoy very wide reputation as respectable authorities on Dharma. The other Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas, now extant, are of comparatively late origin and limited or localised authority. Those of these works, which have been available to us, will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The term 'Vaiṣṇava', as used here, is comprehensive and includes both the Pāñcarātra and the Bhāgavata works. A study of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, the Upaniṣads, the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, and the Mahābhārata indicates that the Pāñcarātra system originated at a very early period, preached the worship of the post-Vedic deity Nārāyaṇa,¹ and had non-Vedic, and probably also anti-Vedic, ideas and practices. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata,² which is the earliest document of the Pāñcarātras, it is said that the seven Citra-śikhandin Ṛsis, namely, Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasīṣṭha, proclaimed jointly, on the mount Meru, an excellent 'Śāstra' which was on a par (samita) with the four Vedas and contained one lac of verses,³ and that, being meant for the populace and their guidance both in activity (pravṛtti) and inactivity (nivṛtti), this 'Śāstra'

1 According to R. G. Bhandarkar, Nārāyaṇa is 'the cosmic and philosophic god'.—Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc., p. 35. See also S. K. De in Our Heritage, Vol. I (1953), pp. 13-23.

The facts that in the Mahābhārata the Pāñcarātra system is differentiated from the Vedic (Mbh XII 349. 1 and 64), that the Śāstra, written by the seven Citra-śikhandin Ṛsis on the mount Meru is said to have been *made consistent* with the four Vedas (Mbh XII 335 40), and that this Śāstra was meant for the populace (Mbh XII 335 39 and 29), tend to indicate the popular origin of Nārāyaṇa. Also Mrinal Dasgupta, Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship, IHQ, VII, pp. 346-79.

2 Mbh XII. 335-351.

3 See Mbh XII. 335. 27-30 and 39.

was made consistent with the four Vedas.⁴ Although at present we have got no decisive evidence at our disposal to prove the actual compilation of any ancient Śāstra jointly by the seven sages mentioned above, the very statement that the scripture was meant for the common run of people and made to conform to the four Vedas, is important and implies the originally non-Vedic, and probably also anti-Vedic, ideas and practices of the early Pāñcarātras. The Mahābhārata itself differentiates the Pāñcarātra system from the Vedic, saying: "Know, O saintly king, the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga, the Pāñcarātra, the Vedas and the Pāśupata as knowledges holding different views."⁵ It has been held by some scholars that the above-mentioned 'Śāstra' compiled by the seven sages was the forerunner of the Pāñcarātra Samhitās.⁶ But this view is hardly tenable. The prescriptions of the early Samhitās of the Pāñcarātras are not at all favourable to the Varnāśrama-dharma and the Vedas; on the other hand, the influence of the Varnāśrama-dharma on the Pāñcarātra Samhitās increases gradually with their comparatively late dates. So, it is more reasonable to hold that the original non-Vedic as well as anti-Vedic ideas of the Pāñcarātras were permeated through the Samhitās, while the seven sages' spirit of reconciling their views with the Vedas found its later expression in the epics, Purāṇas and similar other pro-Vedic sectarian works.

In spite of its originally indifferent, and probably also irreverent, attitude towards the Vedas and the Varnāśrama-dharma, the Pāñcarātra system came to be connected even in the later Brāhmaṇic period with the sacrificial religion of the Vedas;⁷ and in later times it identified

4 Ibid., XII. 335. 29-40—

kṛtam śata-sahasram hi ślokanām idam uttamam/
loka-cantṛasya kṛtsnasya yasmād dharmah pravartate//
pravṛttau ca nivṛttau ca yasmād etad bhaviṣyati/
yajur-ek-sāmabhir juṣtam atharvāṅgirasais tathā//

Also Mbh XII 335. 29a—loka-dharmam anuttamam,

5 Ibid., XII 349. 64—

sāṃkhyam yogam pāñcarātram vedāḥ pāśupatam tathā/
jñānāny etāni rājarṣe viddhi nānā-matāni vai//

See also Mbh XII. 349. 1

6 Farquhar, Outline, p. 98.

7 Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc., pp. 31ff.

Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu and was affiliated to the more popular worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva through the doctrine of Vyūha.⁸ This modified state of the Pāñcarātra system is found in the extant Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās, on the one hand, and in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, on the other. In the last two classes of works, which betray the hands of Smārta adherents of the types of Anāptas, Ārambhins and Saṁpravartins mentioned in the Jayākhyā-saṁhitā,⁹ an attempt has been made to make the system conform to the Varnāśrama-dharma as well as to the principles of Sāṁkhya and Vedānta.

Among the Smārta Pāñcarātras there must have been different groups believing in, and adoring, the different manifestations of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). It was probably the members of these groups who, being inspired by a sense of high regard for the Vedas and the Varnāśrama-dharma, compiled Purāṇic works bearing the names of the different manifestations such as Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nara-siṁha, Vāmana, etc.

In comparatively late periods, a large section of people threw Nārāyaṇa into the background, looked upon Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as the object of their devotion, and began to add great importance to his character as a cowherd. They made him the Supreme Being by identifying him with Viṣṇu, often ignored the doctrine of Vyūha, and laid great stress on love and emotional *bhakti* as means of realising this Supreme Being. These people and their followers took Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva to be the Bhagavat and came to be known as Bhāgavatas. In order to propagate their own faith, the Smārta Bhāgavatas wrote several Purāṇic works, in all of which juvenile Kṛṣṇa of Vṛndāvana figures prominently.

It should be mentioned here that as both the Pāñcarātras and the Bhāgavatas believed deeply in the doctrine of ahimsā (non-killing),

8 For clear exposition of this doctrine see F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnyā Saṁhitā, pp. 27ff. For the older dogma see Barnett, Introduction to his English translation of the Bhagavad-gītā, pp. 52-55, Mrinal Dasgupta in IHQ, VIII, pp. 68-73.

9 XXII. 34b-37a. See also Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 203-4 (for the relevant verses of the Jayākhyā-saṁhitā as well as for explanation of the terms 'Smārta Pāñcarātra,' 'Smārta Śaiva,' etc.)

their ideas became the subject-matter of many of the Purāṇic works, which were meant for saving the Vedic religion especially from the onslaught of Buddhism, Jainism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious systems. The identification of Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu connected the systems of the Pāñcarātras and the Bhāgavatas closely with the Vedic ideas and made them favourable for the establishment of the Varṇāśramadharma and the authority of the Vedas. It was most probably for this reason that in later times even Tantric Śāktism had to be infused with Vaiṣṇava ideas.

The tradition of compilation of a 'Śāstra' by reconciling the sectarian views with the Vedic ones, which is said to have been set up by the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Ṛṣis on the mount Meru, does not appear to have died out or failed in inspiring people of later ages to compose similar works for the popularisation of the Vedic views of life and conduct. With the rise and spread of Buddhism, Jainism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious faiths, the protagonists of the Vedic way of life must have been actively busy in devising ways and means for creating a favourable field for the Vedas in popular mind. As a matter of fact, during the few centuries preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era the Smārta adherents to leading sectarian faiths such as Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Saura, etc. compiled a number of works entitled 'Viṣṇudharma', 'Śivadharmā', 'Sauradharmā', and so on, which were neither Purāṇas nor Smṛtis but were 'Śāstras' prescribing religious and other duties to the respective sectaries in consonance with the teachings of the Vedas. The early rise of these 'Śāstras' is evidenced by the Bhaviṣya-p., in which Sumantu is found to explain the term 'Jaya' to king Śatānīka, saying:

“aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā /
viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata //
kārṣṇaṃ ca pañcamo vedo yaṃ mahābhārataṃ smṛtaṃ /
saurāś ca dharmā rājendra mānavoktā mahīpate //
jayeti nāma caiteṣāṃ pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ //”¹⁰

¹⁰ These verses, which have been quoted in Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 25, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 19-20, Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 30, Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22 (omitting the fifth line), Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 71, Viramītrodaya, Part-
bhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 17, and so on, are much the same as Bhav. I. 4. 87b-89.

“The eighteen Purāṇas as well as the biography of Rāma; the Viṣṇudharma and other Śāstras, and the Śivadharmas, O descendant of Bharata; the fifth Veda which is known as the Mahābhārata compiled by Kṛṣṇa (Dvaipāyana); and the Saura Dharmas declared by Mānava, O paramount ruler, the lord of the earth;—the name ‘Jaya’¹¹ for (all) these the learned declare.”

In another place of the same Purāṇa king Śatānīka is found to put the following question to Sumantu:

“bhagavan kena vidhinā śrotavyam bhāratam naraḥ /
caritaṃ rāmabhadrasya purāṇāni viśeṣataḥ //
kathaṃ tu vaiṣṇavā dharmāḥ śivadharmā aśeṣataḥ /
saurāṇām cāpi vipreन्द्रa ucyatāṃ śravane vidhiḥ //”¹²

“In what way, O venerable one, are the Bhārata, the biography of Rāmabhadra, and especially the Purāṇas, to be heard by men, and how, again, the Vaiṣṇava Dharmas and the Śivadharmas in their entirety? (Kindly) tell (me), O chief of Brahmins, the procedure of hearing (the Dharmas) of the Sauras also.”

It is hardly necessary to say that in these verses of the Bhaviṣya-p. definite works on the religious duties (Dharma) on Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śūrya and other deities have been meant, and that these works were entitled ‘Viṣṇudharma’, ‘Śivadharmā’, ‘Sauradharmā’ and so on.

In the extant Viṣṇudharma (chap. 1) Śaunaka gives a tradition, according to which the topics of this work were spoken out by Brahmā to Bhṛgu, Marīci and other sages, by Bhṛgu to Uśanas, by Uśanas to Śaunaka’s grandfather, by the latter to Śaunaka’s father, and by Śaunaka’s father to Śaunaka. The present Śivadharmottara,¹³ which claims to be the latter part of the Śivadharmā, says in its concluding

The Bhaviṣya-p. reads ‘viṣṇudharmādayo dharmāḥ’ (for ‘viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāni’ in the first half of the second line) and ‘nāradoktāḥ’ (for ‘mānavoktāḥ’ in the second half of the fourth line) and gives the alternative reading ‘śrautāḥ’ (for ‘saurāḥ’ in the first half of the fourth line). It is needless to say that the reading ‘śrautāḥ’ (for ‘saurāḥ’) is wrong. Cf. Bhav. I. 216. 37 quoted hereinafter

11 It means ‘(the cause of) victory or prosperity.’

12 Bhav. I. 216. 36-37.

13 This Śaiva ‘Śāstra’, which still exists in Mss, will be examined in another Volume of the present work

chapter that originally this work was spoken out by Kumāra to the sage Agastī in 12000 verses and that the latter spoke out its essence briefly in twelve chapters.¹⁴ The Śivadharmā¹⁵ also states that it was originally spoken out by Śiva to Pārvatī, Śaṇmukha, Nandikeśvara and others.¹⁶ So, there is little scope for doubt that Śāstras bearing the titles 'Viṣṇudharma', 'Śivadharmā', 'Sauradharmā', etc. had been compiled even before the rise of the extant texts of the same titles.

A new situation arose in the country with the unprecedented spread and popularity of Buddhism during the reign of Aśoka Maurya. In the few centuries following the death of this great emperor Buddhism grew up to be the most powerful rival of Hinduism and gave incentives to the compilation of the present Viṣṇudharma, in which the atheists, especially the Buddhists, have been denounced on many occasions. This work was followed at intervals by the compilation of the present Viṣṇudharmottara, Śivadharmā and Śivadharmottara. The Sauradharmā (which, as the quotations from it in the Smṛti Nibandhas show, was spoken out by Vasiṣṭha and might consequently be different from that declared by Mānava or Nārada) and the Sauradharmottara (drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers) also must have belonged to this period; but they appear to have been lost, no Ms of any of them having been found as yet.

We have already seen that in a verse of the Bhaviṣya-p. the Viṣṇudharma has been called a 'Śāstra'. The extant Viṣṇudharma also gives itself out to be a 'Śāstra' in two places and not a 'Purāṇa',

14 The relevant verses are the following

uktam dvādaśa-sāhasrī (?-sraṃ) śivadharmottaram mahat/
agastaye munindrāya kumārena mahātmanā//
itiha karma-yogasya jñāna-yogasya tattvataḥ/
dharmādharmā-gatinām ca svarūpam upavarṇitam//
ity etad akhilam buddhvā samkṣipyāgastir abravīt/
dvādaśādhyāya-samyuktam iti saram vimuktidam//
śivadharmottaram śāstram

Śivadharmottara, chap. 12 (ASB Ms No 3852, fol. 88a).

15 This work also has not yet been printed. It will be examined later.

16 See Śivadharmā (ASB Ms No. 3852), chap 1.

‘Upapurāna’ or ‘Smṛti’ even once.¹⁷ Consequently, scholars have been divided in their opinion regarding the true character of this work. For instance, on the strength of the said verse of the Bhaviṣya-p. Lakṣmīdhara takes the Viṣṇudharma to be a ‘Śāstra’ and includes it among the Smṛti works,¹⁸ and his opinion is followed in very much the same words by Candéśvara, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, Mitra Miśra and others.¹⁹ Vallālasena calls the Viṣṇudharma a ‘Śāstra’ (śāstram ca viṣṇudharmākhyam), which is taken as different from the epics, Purānas and Smṛti Samhitās.²⁰ Hemādri also seems to be of the same opinion as Vallālasena, his authorities being the said verse of the Bhaviṣya-p. and another ascribed to the Saura-p.²¹ On the other hand, most of the lists of eighteen Upapurānas include the name of the ‘Śivadharmā’, thus giving wide recognition to this work as an Upapurāna in spite of the fact that it frequently calls itself a ‘Śāstra’ and once a ‘Śivātmaka Dharmaśāstra’.²² As regards the Viṣṇudharma, it may be said that the Brhaddharma-p.²³ names it in its list of eighteen Upapurānas and that, as we shall see presently, the Viṣṇudharmottara was taken by many to be a Purāna or Upapurāna. In all the catalogues of Sanskrit Mss both the Viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottara have been classed with the Purānas. Consequently, we have thought it desirable to look upon the Viṣṇudharma as an Upapurānic work and not as a mere ‘Śāstra’.

17 See Viṣṇudharma, chap 105, fol. 260a (nāsty anyad viṣṇudharmānām sadṛśam śāstram uttamam) and fol 260b (iti śāstra-māhātmyam . .).

18 Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p 25

19 Kṛtya-ratnākara, p 30, Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22, Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p 16, and so on.

20 Dānasāgara, pp 2-3, verses 11-19.

21 See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 19-20 (viṣṇudharmāni śāstrāni etc) and pp. 539-40 (śivadharmādi-śāstrāni yāḥ prayacchatī punya-dhīḥ/ so ‘nanta-phalam āpnotī śivadharmā-prakāśanāt//)

22 In most of the chapter-colophons of the present Śivadharmā the name ‘Śivadharmā-śāstra’ occurs. For the name ‘Śivātmaka Dharmaśāstra’ see the line ‘uktam ca dvādaśādhyāyam dharma-śāstram śivātmakam’ occurring in chap. 12 (fol 39a).

23 We shall see afterwards that this work was written in Bengal most probably in the last half of the thirteenth century A D.

As to the character of the Viṣṇudharmottara a similar confusion arose among scholars on account of the facts that this work, as its title shows, professes to be the latter part of the Viṣṇudharma and that its claim has been clearly put forth in two of its verses,²⁴ in which the Viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottara have been taken to form one complete work known by the general title 'Viṣṇudharma'. It is most probably due to this alleged unity of these two works that Alberūnī considered both of them to be one and made his citations from the Viṣṇudharmottara under the name of 'Viṣṇudharma', that Smṛti-writers are often found to ascribe verses of the Viṣṇudharmottara to the Viṣṇudharma and *vice versa*,²⁵ and that in some Mss the Viṣṇudharma has been called 'Viṣṇudharmottara.'²⁶ In his Nityācāra-pradīpa Narasiṃha Vājapeyī regards the Viṣṇudharmottara as a 'śāstra' and as a part of the Viṣṇudharma, and supports his view by citations from the Bhaviṣya-p. and the Viṣṇudharmottara.²⁷ So,

24 Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 35—

samsāra-ksaya-hetvarthe bhāvopakaraneṣu ca/
sottarā vaiṣṇavā dharmāḥ sārām etat prakīrtitam//

Viṣṇudh. I. 143. 16—

adhite sottaram yaś ca viṣṇudharmam idam śubham/

25 For instance, the verse 'ahorātram na bhoktavyam' is ascribed to the Viṣṇudharma in Madana-pārijāta, p. 538 and to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. 1 p. 437; the line 'dattvā kārṇāsikam', which is the same as Viṣṇudh. III. 313. 4a, has been ascribed to the Viṣṇudharma in Dāna-kaumudī, p. 46; the verse 'upositavyam naksatram,' which is the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 60. 26b-27, has been ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālaviveka, p. 508, Vratākāla-viveka, p. 14, Tithi-viveka, p. 47, and Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 302, but to the Viṣṇudharma in Varsa-kaumudī, p. 8; and so on. On the other hand, verses really belonging to the Viṣṇudharma have been wrongly ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirnaya, pp. 200-201, 202, 210 etc., Kālasāra, p. 151, and so on.

It can hardly be denied that such wrong ascription of verses is partly due to scribal mistakes

26 See foot-note 36 below

As a matter of fact, R. L. Mitra and J. Eggeling confuse the Viṣṇudharma with the Viṣṇudharmottara, taking these two works to be one.

27 Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22—

'bhaviṣya-purāṇe—
astādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritam tathā/
viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāni śivadharmāś ca bhārata//

Narasimha Vājapeyin is clearly not in favour of recognising the Viṣṇudharmottara as a Purāṇic work. Mitra Miśra also does not include this work among the Purāṇas, although he takes it to be 'as authoritative as a Purāṇa'²⁸. According to Alberūnī the Viṣṇudharmottara (named by him as 'Viṣṇudharma') is a 'book' (and not a 'Purāṇa') on 'the religion of God who in this case is understood to be Nārāyaṇa'²⁹. The present Kālikā-p. (92.2) calls the Viṣṇudharmottara a '*tantra*'. Except in only one most-probably-spurious verse,³⁰ nowhere does the Viṣṇudharmottara claim, in the body of its text, to be known as a 'Purāṇa' or 'Upapurāṇa'. On the other hand, Vallālasena calls the Viṣṇudharma a 'Śāstra' but seems to look upon the Viṣṇudharmottara as an Upapurāṇa,³¹ the Bṛhadharma-p. (I. 25. 25) regards the Viṣṇudharmottara as distinct from the Viṣṇudharma and includes both of these works in its list of Upapurāṇas; the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi once names the Viṣṇudharmottara as 'Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa';³² in the final colophons of some of the Mss of

tatra viṣṇudharmottaram viṣṇudharmasya bheda itī na prathan nirdiṣṭam/
viṣṇudharmottare—

ete ye vaiṣṇavā dharmā dālabhyena prakīrtitāh/
uttaram kathitam tubhyam mayaitat pariṣṛchate//

The former verse is the same as Bhav. I 4 87b-88a, but the latter verse (ete ye vaiṣṇavāh etc), which is ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara, is not found in the printed edition

28 In connection with Smṛti works Mitra Miśra says in his Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p 16—

'evam vṛddha-manvādīnām manvādyabhedaḥ śiṣṭa-prasiddhyādibhir avaganta-
vyah/yāni tu grhya-tatpariśiṣṭādīni tāni bhīṣṇa-kotīny eva purāṇavat pramāṇāni/
tathā viṣṇudharmottara-mahābhārata-rāmāyaṇādīny api/

29 Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p. 132.

30 Viṣṇudh. III 355 5—

rājā'pi vajro dharmātmā mārkaṇḍeyaena bhāṣitam/
purāṇam cintayan nityam nārāyaṇa-parāyanah/
rājyam ca prāśiṣan nityam prajā dharmena pālayan//

This is the final verse of Viṣṇudh. III. It does not occur in any other Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara known to us

31 Dānasāgara, p 3 (verses 12b-15a).

32 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III, ii. p. 462.

the Viṣṇudharmottara the name 'Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa' occurs,³³ the Nāradiya-p. (I. 94. 17b-20) says that the Viṣṇu-p. consists of two parts—the Viṣṇu-p. proper (forming the first part—ādi-bhāga) and the Viṣṇudharmottara; in the final colophons of its Khandas the printed Viṣṇudharmottara calls itself the second part (dvitīya-bhāga) of the Viṣṇu-mahāpurāṇa;³⁴ in his Vidhāna-pārijāta, I, pp. 245 and 419 Anantabhaṭṭa quotes Viṣṇudh. II. 52. 47-52a and II. 52. 110ff. respectively with the words 'tatra padma-purāṇe viṣṇudharmottara-khaṇḍe paraśurāmam prati (p. 419—āha) puṣkaraḥ', in which the Viṣṇudharmottara has been taken to be a part of the Padma-p.; in the final colophons of some of its Mss the Viṣṇudharmottara has been connected with the Garuḍa-p.;³⁵ and so on. From all these it appears that originally the Viṣṇudharmottara was not regarded as a Purāṇa. But in course of time its Purāṇic form and character encouraged people to include it among the Purāṇic works, and the result was that some took it to be an Upapurāṇa, while others attached it, as a part, to one or other of the Mahāpurāṇas.

The above discussion explains our attitude towards the Viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottara. We shall now analyse the individual Upapurāṇas.

1. THE VIṢṆUDHARMA

This is an extensive and widely popular work³⁶ awaiting publication. It consists of more than 4000 verses distributed in 105

33 See Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 308 and 326; and List of Sans, Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 22. See also Mitra, Notices, II, p. 16 (No. 550) for 2 Mss of the Dharmaghaṭa-vrata-kathā which, in its colophon, claims to belong to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.'

34 These colophons run as follows:—iti śrī-viṣṇu-mahāpurāṇe dvitīya-bhāge śrī-viṣṇudharmottare

35 Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II, i, p. 912 Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 150, M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV, i, pp. 1437-39, No. 2111. Burnell, Classified Index, p. 188 (Viṣṇudharmottara—said to be the Uttara-bhāga of the Garuḍa-p.).

36 For its Mss see

(1) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 764-5

[No. 4099 (Ms No. 1670) —

This is a complete Ms written in Nāgara scripts. It begins with two verses

chapters in the ASB Ms (No. 1670), which we have chiefly used here. It has very little of the principal characteristics of a Purāṇa, and although it deals exclusively with the religious rites and duties of the Vaiṣṇavas and consequently calls itself a 'Śāstra' on two occasions and not a 'Purāṇa' or 'Upapurāṇa' even once, it came to be recognised by many as a 'Purāṇic' work, obviously because the later Purāṇas turned into religious books, caring much more for religious matters than for accounts of ancient history.

Beginning, 'n most of its Mss, with a verse extolling the sanctity of the Bhārata (i. e. Mahābhārata) and, on rare occasions, with a

'nārāyanam namaskrtya naram caiva narottamam, etc' and 'dvaipāyanoṣṭha-puta-m(h)srtam aprameyam, etc' (in which the 'Bhārata' has been praised), and its extent has been given by Shastri as 4600 Ślokas.

No 4100 (Ms No 3506).—This Ms also is complete, but it is written in Bengali characters. Of its two introductory verses the second runs as follows

namo vyāsāya gurave vedaññāya maharsaye/
pārāśaryāya śāntāya namo nārāyanāya te//]

(2) Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat, VI, pp. 1308-9, No 3604.

[This Nāgara Ms has practically the same text as that of the ASB Ms No. 1670, its first two introductory verses being the same as those of the latter.]

(3) Weber, Berlin Cat, 338-41

[This is a Nāgara Ms consisting of 102 chapters and having practically the same text as that of the ASB Ms No. 1670 (single chapters of the former being at times split up into two in the latter) It begins with the same two verses as those of the latter and ends with the words 'iti śrīvisṇudharmottare śūcikā samāptā']

(4) Shastri, Nepal Cat, pp 29-30 (No. 1002क) and p 30 (1002ख)

[Of these two Mss, which are written in Newari scripts, the first is dated Samvat 167 (=1047 A D) and was copied during the reign of Parama-bhattā-raka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrīmad-bhāskara-deva]

(5) Pandit Devī Prasāda, List of Sanskrit Mss Discovered in Oudh during the Year 1877 (Allahabad, 1878), pp. 32-33

[This is a Nāgara Ms consisting of '3000 Ślokas' according to Pandit Devī Prasāda.]

(6) Mitra, Notices, VII, pp. 65-67, No. 2293

[This is a Nāgara Ms beginning with the same verses as those of the ASB Ms No. 1670 and consisting of 3819 Ślokas according to Mitra It is dated Samvat 1910 and called 'Visṇudharmottara' like the Berlin Ms.]

salutation, in a single verse, to Vyāsa, son of Parāśara, this work describes the occasion of the narration of its subject-matter as follows.

Once Śaunaka and other sages came to see king Śatānīka, son of (Janamejaya) Pārīksita, after the latter's coronation had been over. Śatānīka received these sages with due honour and requested them to favour him with the best discourses on Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa), through whose grace his ancestors could recover their lost kingdom and the life of his grandfather Pārīksit was saved from the deadly weapon hurled by Droṇa's son (Aśvatthāman). He described Nārāyaṇa as eternal and boundless and as one who gave birth to Rudra from his rage and to Pītāmaha from his grace. He then expressed his desire for hearing the ways, secret Mantras, service, gifts, vows, fasts or Homas, by which Hari might be worshipped for getting over the miseries of life. Being highly pleased with Śatānīka's devotion for the god the sages praised Śaunaka as a rich store-house of all knowledge and as a lamp for dispelling all darkness of doubt in the three worlds and requested him to speak to Śatānīka about Kṛṣṇa-Nārāyaṇa. Consequently, after briefly explaining the process of origin of the universe from the Supreme Being, who appeared, for the sake of creation, as Pradhāna and Puruṣa by *tilā* and also became Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by fancy (*chindatah*), Śaunaka referred to the tradition of inheritance of all these topics from Brahmā³⁷ and narrated the following story:

Once Brahmā spoke to Marīci and others about the highest type of Yoga which is capable of leading one to Kaivalya by effecting the complete cessation of the functions of the mind (*śamasta-vṛtti-samro-dhāt kaivalya-pratipīdakam*). But as success in this kind of Yoga requires strenuous efforts extending over many births and as it is often found that one fails to control the organs of senses and to get over their objects (*viśaya*) even in a hundred lives, Marīci and others requested the god to speak to them on some easier method of Yoga which could be practised with success even by a common man in a

37 We have already noted that in chap. 1 of the Viṣṇudharma (fol. 3b-4a) these topics have been said to have come down from Brahmā to Śaunaka successively through Bhṛgu, Uśanas, Śaunaka's grandfather, and Śaunaka's father.

short period of time. Consequently, Brahmā spoke on Kriyā-yoga which consists in the constant propitiation of Nārāyaṇa (i. e. Kṛṣṇa) by sacrifice, worship, salutation, service, observance of vows and fasts, gratification of Brahmins, and other acts. Śaunaka said that on the basis of Brahmā's instructions Marīci and other sages compiled treatises (śāstra) on Kriyā-yoga for the good of the people.—(Chap. 1).

Next, going to speak on this Kriyā-yoga, which liberates people from bondage, Śaunaka narrated the story of king Ambarīsa thus:

Being desirous of bringing the duals (dvandva) to an end through Viṣṇu's favour, king Ambarīsa practised austerities with great devotion. Viṣṇu was pleased, but he would not favour the king without putting him to test. He appeared before the latter in the form of Indra, gave himself out to be the god of gods ruling over the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, Nāsatyas, Maruts, Prajāpatīs, Sādhya, Viśvedevas and others, and asked the king to choose a boon. But the latter made it clear to him that he was not eager for having anything from Indra but was trying to please Viṣṇu who ensured prosperity to Indra by killing Hiraṇyākṣa, Hiraṇyakaśipu and other demons, by recovering his kingdom from Bali, and by various other acts, and who was the creator, protector and destructor of the universe and the source of origin of the gods forming the triad. At these words of the king Viṣṇu, in the form of Indra, pretended to be enraged and threatened the king with his thunder-weapon. But the latter pleaded innocent and remained unmoved. His unswerving devotion pleased Viṣṇu so much that the god revealed himself in his real form, in which he has four hands and wears yellow clothes, and spoke briefly to the king on the best system of Yoga which is 'nirbīja' and ends all miseries of life for ever (nirbījam atyantā-duḥkha-samyoga-bhesajam). But as this type of Yoga was too difficult for the king, he requested Viṣṇu to tell him about such Yoga as could be practised by people like himself. Consequently, Viṣṇu spoke of Kriyā-yoga which puts a stop to all sufferings of life (kleśa) and advised the king to be devoted to him heart and soul, to worship him constantly with flowers and other things as well as with the offer of highly valuable articles of gold, silver, etc., to think of him incessantly, and to see him everywhere and in all beings. Next, being requested by the king to speak elaborately on this Kriyā-

yoga, Viṣṇu (called 'Keśava') referred him to his priest (purohita) Vasīṣṭha, who, he said, would tell him about it through his favour. Viṣṇu then disappeared; and the king returned to his capital. (—Chap. 2). There he met Vasīṣṭha, intimated to him what Viṣṇu had said, and requested him to speak on Kriyā-yoga concerning Viṣṇu-worship. Vasīṣṭha narrated the story of Prahlāda thus:

Once Prahlāda, a devotee of Nārāyaṇa, told his high-priest Śukra, the chief of the Bhṛigus, that he found in the body of Nṛsiṃha all the three worlds as well as the gods, goddesses and Pitṛs, and requested him to describe the method of worshipping this deity. Śukra said that if he really desired to worship 'Viṣṇu, the lord of gods', he was to become a Bhāgavata, because no mortal other than a Bhāgavata is able to know Viṣṇu rightly, or to eulogise him, or to see him, not to speak of merging in him.³⁸ Śukra then spoke on the characteristics and praise of Bhāgavatas (who respect the Brahmins and the Veda, practise ahimsā, have their minds absorbed in Viṣṇu in many of their births, and are far superior to the performers of Tapas or austerity and of costly sacrifices), worship of Viṣṇu in images with the offer of flowers, lamps etc., construction of temples for him, and singing of songs, recitation of hymns, and sounding of musical instruments during his worship. (—Chap. 3). Next, after defining 'upavāsa' (fasting)³⁹ and pointing out its benefits, Śukra reproduced what Pulastya had said to Dālbhya in ancient times on the following topics:

Devotional service to Viṣṇu⁴⁰ (—chap. 4); procedures and praise

38 na hy abhāgavatair viṣṇur jñātum stotum ca tattvataḥ/
drastum vā śakyate martyaiḥ praveṣṭum kuta eva hi //

39 upāvṛttasya pāpebho yas tu vāso gunaiḥ saha/
upavāsaiḥ sa vijñeyah sarva-bhoga-vivarjitah//—Fol 14a

It should be mentioned that the Viṣṇudharma adds great importance to fasting in Viṣṇu-worship and prescribes it especially to females

40 Viz., worship of the deity with fragrant flowers and other things, especially with fast, sweeping, washing, and besmearing of Viṣṇu-temples with earth, cow-dung, substances of metallic preparation (? dhātu-vikāra), and so on; offer of flowers, lamps, pots of sesamum, flags, and other things; narration of sanctifying stories; praise of Viṣṇu as the highest god worshipped by Indra, women, Vaiṣṇavas, Parivrājakas, and others.

of a number of Vaiṣṇava vows and worships,⁴¹ some of which were described by way of reporting the dialogues of others;⁴² Kṛṣṇa's speech to Arjuna on his own identity with Kāla and unity with Arjuna, and also on the names of the principal holy places⁴³ in which Kṛṣṇa is to be worshipped under particular names (—Chaps. 35-36); description of

41 Viz., Sugati-dvādaśī-vrata (in which 'Kṛṣṇa' is to be worshipped and meditated upon, and his name to be repeated)—chap 4; Eka-bhakta-vrata, Dvādaśa-māsika-kṛṣṇāstamī-vrata (in which 'Kṛṣṇa' is to be worshipped), Kulā-vāpti-dvādaśī-vrata (*alias* Śukla-dvādaśī-vrata, said to have been described to Bharata by his mātāmaha Kanva), Vijaya-dvādaśī-vrata, Jayanty-astamī-vrata, Atijayaikādaśī-vrata, and Viṣṇu-snapana-vrata (—chaps. 6-12 respectively), Pusya-rksaikādaśī-vrata, Pada-dvaya-vrata, Manoratha-dvādaśī-vrata, and Aśoka-pūrnāmāsī-vrata (—chaps 17-20 respectively), Naraka-dvādaśī-vrata—chap. 24, Tila-dvādaśī-vrata—chap. 34, Sukṛta-dvādaśī-vrata—chap. 37, Aśūnya-śayana-dvitiyā-vrata—chap 41.

Worship of Viṣṇu and his wife under the names of Janārdana and Lakṣmī, Śṛidhara and Śrī, and Keśava and Bhūtī in the four months beginning respectively with Phālguna, Āśādhā and Kārttika (chap 5), Māsa-rksa-pūjā (chap. 27).

42 Pulastya reproduced the dialogues in which

(i) Yājñavalkya spoke to Maitreyī on Manoratha-sampatti-kāraka-vrata (chap 13), Samprāpti-dvādaśī-vrata (chap 14), Govinda-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 15), and Akhanda-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 16),

(ii) Śaṁkara spoke to Devī on Śobhana-pati-prāpti-vrata (chap. 21) and Strī-dharma-vrata (chap 22),

(iii) Vasistha spoke to Arundhatī on Naksatra-purusa-vrata (chap. 29),

(iv) Maitreyī spoke to Śiladhanā (a sonless queen of Kṛtavīrya, the Haihaya king) on Ananta-vrata (chap. 30).

43 These are as follows Puskara, Gayā, Lohadanda, Citrakūta, Prabhāsa, Vṛndāvana, Jayantī, Hastināpura, Kardamāla, Kasmīra (?), Kubjāmra, Mathurā, Kubjaka, Gangādvāra, Śālagrāma, Govardhanācala, Pindāraka, Śaṅkhoddhāra, Kuruksetra, Yamunā, Sona, Pūrva-sāgara (kapilam pūrva-sāgare—fol. 68b), Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṁgama, Devikā-nadī, Prayāga, Vadarikāśrama, Dakṣiṇa Samudra, Dvārakā, Mahendrādri, Arvuda, Aśvatīrtha, Himācala, Kṛtaśauca, Vipāśā, Naimisa, Jambūmārga, Saindhavāranya, Dandaka, Utpalāvartaka, Narmadā, Ratnataka, Nandā, Sindhu-sāgara-saṁgama, Sahyādri, Māgadha Vana, Vindhya, Odra (odre tu purusottamam—fol. 69a).

The corresponding chapter in ASB Ms No. 3506 contains in fol 61a a few more names such as Kusvāmādhya (?), Nepāla, Mandodapāna, Kiskindhya, Kāśī, Viśākhayūpa, Virajā, etc. In this Ms Lohadanda has been named as Loladanda, Kasmīra as Kahlāra (?), and Māgadha Vana as Mādhava Vana.

hells in which sinners are punished for various sins, viz., adultery, killing of cows and women, denouncement of Viṣṇu and the Brahmins, and so on (chap. 23); description and denouncement of Pāṣandas, and the atonements for seeing or touching them or for speaking with them (chap. 25); enunciation of the Apāmārjana, which allays the troubles caused by malevolent rites (viz., abhicāras and kṛtyās), poison, evil Grabas, all kinds of fever and other diseases, and so on;⁴⁴ method and praise of besmearing Viṣṇu-temples with earth, cow-dung etc. and of presenting lamps there (chaps. 31-32); glorification of gods, Brahmins, Vedas and sacrifices, and denouncement of those who decry them (chap. 33); eulogy of Viṣṇu with the mention of his exploits in different incarnations (chap. 39); muttering of the different names of Viṣṇu (including 'Kāmapāla') for security under different circumstances (chap. 40); statement of the causes of rebirths and release (chap. 42)

After listening to the dialogue between Pulastya and Dālbhya Śatānīka requested Śaunaka to speak on Dharma as described by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira. Consequently, Śaunaka reported the statements made by Kṛṣṇa on the following subjects: the names of the authors of the Dharma-saṃhitās;⁴⁵ hells, and gifts of shoes, mules, clothes and other articles to Brahmins for escaping these (chap. 45); glorification of Brahmins as well as of service and gifts made to them (chap. 46), praise of practice of various restraints, such as silence, sacrifice, celibacy, nonkilling, living on roots, fruits or leaves, fasting, lying on

44 In chap 28 there are the names of a large number of diseases caused by any of the three humours of the body, viz., wind (vāta), bile (pitta) and phlegm (kapha), various kinds of poison, different classes of Grabas such as Preta-grahas, Dākinī-grahas, Vetāla-grahas, Gandharvas, Yakṣa-rākṣasas, Vināyakas, Bāla-grahas, and so on.

45 Viz., those of Manu, Vasistha, Parāśara, Ātreya, Gārgya, Śaṅkha, Likhita, Yama, Jāvali, Dvaipāyana, Umā-Maheśvara (umā-maheśvarāś caiva jātī-dharmāś ca pāvanāh—fol 89a), Kāśyapa, Bahvāyana, Śakuli, Agastya, Mudgala, Śāṇḍilya, Bhṛgu, Angiras, Kaśyapa, Uddālaka, Sumantu, Paulastya, Vaiśampāyana, Piśam-gama, Indra, Varuna, Kuvera, Āpastamba, Gopālaka, Sūrya, Hārīta, Yājñavalkya, the seven sages (saptarṣayah), and others.

For this list see also ASB Ms No. 3506, fol 76a-b

The verse containing the names of Umā-Maheśvara and Kāśyapa does not occur in ASB Ms No. 3506.

the ground, entrance into fire, and so on (chap. 47); description and praise of gifts of paddy, fuel, virgin girls (for marriage in the Brāhma form), gold, cows, footwears etc. to Brahmins, especially to one widely learned in the Vedas—*bahuśruta* (chaps. 48, 53 and 58-60), enumeration of sixteen cases (including those of such Brahmins as are priests of villages, husbands of Śūdra wives, sellers of the Veda, snake-catchers, and hen-pecked husbands) in which gifts, made, become unproductive (chap. 49); results of insulting or respecting a Brahmin (chap. 50); praise of a Brahmin who regularly repeats the *Gāyatrī* (chap. 51); praise of *tapas* (austerity) and *satya* (truth), and denouncement of *anṛta* (untruth) (chaps. 54 and 55); fasting and observance of the *Eka-bhakta-vrata* in different months (chap. 56); elevation and lowering of caste caused respectively by the due performance of one's own Dharma and by neglect of it (chap. 57); praise of fighting bravely and courting death in the battle-field; principles of war (*saṃgrāma-praśamsā*—chap. 61); praise of avoiding meat and practising *ahiṃsā* (chap. 62).

Śaunaka then reported

1. Nārāyaṇa's speech to Yudhiṣṭhira on the science of government (*daṇḍa-nīti*, including the divinity and duties of a king, necessity of *daṇḍa*, and punishment for different kinds of crimes—chap. 63), praise of devotion to Viṣṇu (chap. 64), and incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Buddha (chap. 66);

2. Bhīṣma's statement to Yudhiṣṭhira on remembering Viṣṇu and muttering his names for allaying the effects of bad dreams (chap. 67);

3. Viṣṇu's enumeration to Lakṣmī of the characteristics of those who become his favourites ⁴⁶ (chap. 74);

46 Such people are those who are given to knowldge of Ātman, avoid *himsā*, culture universal friendship, feel completely satisfied with whatever they possess, are truthful, upright and compassionate, look upon others' wives as mothers, are completely satisfied with their own wives, always remain engaged in lawful work, do not hesitate to give up their life for the sake of Brahmins, and so on. As regards females, they are to be devoted to their husbands and should culture love and service

4. Prahlāda's description of the powers of Viṣṇu and his disc, his speech on Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga,⁴⁷ and his advice to Bali to become a Bhāgavata (chaps. 76-81);

5. Prahlāda's narration, in chaps. 83-91, of what Vasiṣṭha had said to Māndhātṛ on a number of vows⁴⁸ and gifts.⁴⁹

Śaunaka further spoke on the following topics: benefits of meditating on and rendering various kinds of devotional service to Viṣṇu (chap. 71); practice of one's own duties as well as of the virtues such as kindness, tolerance etc., and shunning of unlawful work (vidharma) and association with uncultured people (grāmya-sanga) (chap. 74); building of Viṣṇu-temples, and construction of images of the god with gold, silver, copper, brass, stone, wood, earth etc. (chaps. 75, 99), description of Viṣṇu as Brahma and the source of the universe (chap. 95); process of origin of the world from Viṣṇu, although he is unchangeable (aparīṇāmī—chap. 96); description and praise of Yoga said to have been declared originally by Hiraṇyagarbha (chaps. 97-98); distinction of Yoga into Para and Aparā, and their characteristics; description of a Viṣṇu-image,⁵⁰ which is to be constructed with

47 This Kriyā-yoga is said to have been spoken out by Brahmā, from whom it came down to Prahlāda through Svārocisa Manu, Ṛtacaksus, Śukra and others. It includes construction of images and temples of Viṣṇu with different materials, bathing of an image of Viṣṇu with ghee and milk on different occasions, offer of various articles (including different kinds of cloth, viz., dukūla, paṭṭa, kauśeya, kārpaśika, etc.) and of select flowers and leaves (including Tulasi and Kāla-tulasi).

48 Viz., Vikrama-vrata, Viṣṇu-pada-traya-vrata, Śuddhi-vrata, and Kṛsnā-stamī-vrata *alias* Devakī-vrata (chaps. 83, 84, 89 and 90)

49 Viz., Go-dāna, Tila-dhenu-dāna, Ghrta-dhenu-dāna, Jala-dhenu-dāna, etc. (chaps 85-88 and 91)

50 The relevant verses, as reconstructed from ASB Mss Nos 1670 (fols. 231b-232a) and 3506 (fol. 166a-b), run as follows:

kāryas tu viṣṇur bhagavān saumya-rūpaś caturbhujah/
salila-dhvānta-meghābhah śrīmān śrīvatsa-bhūṣitah//
ābaddha-mukutah sragvī hāra-bhārārpitodarah/
sviksanaś cāru-cikurah sulalāṭena subhrunā/
svosthena sukapolena vadanena virājitah//
kanthena śubha-lekhena varābharana-dhārīnā/
nānā-ratnārcitābhyām ca śravānābhyām alamkṛtah//

gold, silver, copper, brass, stone, wood, earth etc. or to be painted, and in which Brahma is to be contemplated during worship (chap. 99), description and practice of *yama*⁵¹ and *niyama*⁵² and the other means of attaining Yoga (yogāṅga), viz., āsana, prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi;⁵³ detailed discourse on dhyāna; praise of Yogins, who only are said to experience Viṣṇu in his supreme state (chap. 100); due performance or neglect of one's lawful work causing birth in a higher or lower caste; discourses on universal duties⁵⁴ and on those enjoined by one's caste or order of life (chap. 101), means of attaining Advaita-jñāna; explanation of Viṣṇu's highest state (param rūpam) and his birth in parts on earth (chaps. 102-103), measurement of time by kāṣṭhā, kalā, muhūrta etc.; duration of *yugas*; state of Dharma and Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa's appearance in different forms (including Kalkin) in the different *yugas* (chap. 104), elaborate description of the evils of the Kali age (chap. 105).

For the effective glorification of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu (also called Vāsudeva) the Viṣṇudharma has a number of devotional hymns, viz., Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra (chap. 69), Sārasvata-stava spoken out by Sarasvatī (chap. 70), Viṣṇu-vaṣṭaka (chap. 71), Balī's eulogy of Viṣṇu's Sudraśana-cakra (chap. 78), two hymns for the removal of sins (pāpa-praśamana-stava

pusta-ślistāyata-bhujas tanu-tāmra-nakhāṅgulih/
 madhyena trivalī-bhanga-bhūṣitena ca cārunā/
 supādah sūru-yugalāḥ sukati-gulpha-jānukah//
 vāma-pārśve gadā devī cakram devasya daksine/
 śankho vāma-kare deyo daksine padma-suprabham//
 ūrdhva-drstīm adho-drstīm tiryag-drstīm na kārayet/
 nimīṭṭakso bhagavān suprasāsto janārdanaḥ//
 saumyā tu drstih kartavyā kimcit-prahasiteva ca/
 kāryaś carana-vinyāsaḥ sarvataḥ supratisthitah//
 caranāntara-samsthā ca vibhṛatī rūpam uttamam/
 kāryā vasumdhārā devī tat-pāda-tala-cārini//
 yādr̥g-vidhā vā manasaḥ sthāirya-lambhopapādikā/
 nṛsimha-vāmanādīnām tādṛśīm kārāyēd budhah//

51 It consists of ahimsā, śama, asteya, brahmacarya, and aparigraha.

52 Consisting of samtosa, śauca, svādhyāya, tapas, and īśvara-bhāvanā

53 For the definition of 'samādhi' see ASB Ms No. 1670, fol. 233a, and No 3506, fol. 167a

54 These are the eight gunas, viz., anasūyā, dayā, kṣānti, śauca etc.

—chaps. 92-93), Arjuna's eulogy of Kṛṣṇa (in which many incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa's infancy at Vṛndāvana have been mentioned —chap. 35), and many others (for which see chaps. 2, 39, 68, 72, 76 and 103).

In connection with the above contents the Viṣṇudharma narrates a number of stories, one of which is highly interesting and sheds a flood of light on the attitude of an important section of people towards Buddhism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious systems current in those days. This story, which has been given in chap. 25 in connection with the description and denouncement of Pāṣaṇḍas, runs as follows.

In ancient times the mortals, being pious through the due performance of their duties, could go to heaven at the mere wish, and the gods also grew stronger by getting their due share in the sacrifices. Consequently, the Daiteyas and Asuras could not prevail upon the gods. In course of time two Daiteyas, Ṣaṇḍa and Marka by name, intended to annihilate the gods and performed a dangerous kṛtyā (a magic rite meant for destructive purposes), from which came out a dreadful figure called Mahāmoha, who had a very dark body resembling a mass of darkness and was extremely fierce, haughty, deceitful and lazy.⁵⁵ This Mahāmoha was divided by Ṣaṇḍa and Marka into four parts, one of which decried the gods and Brahmins, another discouraged people from practising Yoga, the third engaged them in unlawful acts (vikarman), and the fourth deprived them of their jñāna, made them accept ajñāna as jñāna under infatuation, and took delight in whatever went against the Vedas (veda-vāda-virodhena yā kathā sāsya rocate). Thus produced by Ṣaṇḍa and Marka, this Mahāmoha, 'who was *adharma* in person' (adharma-svarūpaḥ) and was polluted by pride and other vices, took his position among the people (lokeṣv eva vyavasthitah) and deluded them in various ways. By his misleading instructions he turned them worthless through infatuation (mohābhībhava-nihsārān) and made them discard their conscience as well as their respective duties enjoined upon them by their castes. Being mad with their wrong knowledge, these infatuated people set themselves to unlawful

55 tatrotpanno 'nkrṣṇāṅgas tamaḥ-prāyo 'tidārunaḥ/
dambhādhāraḥ śāṭhya-sāro nidrā-prakṛur ulvanah//—fol 42b

acts by defying the instructions of their friends and the learned people, to whom they gave replies with misleading and confusing arguments (prayacchanty uttaram mūdhāḥ kūta-yukti-samanvitam). They turned Pāsandins (or Pāṣandas)⁵⁶ and Vrātyas, knew no sacraments, spoke highly of the food received from others (parāṇṇa-guṇa-vādinah), caused mixture of castes, did not care for the purification of the body, decried the rites sanctioned by the Vedas—Ṛk, Yajuh and Sāma, and preached the doctrine of the non-existence of any thing (nānyadastīti-vādinah). They also spread their influence upon the less intelligent (alpa-matī) section of people and made them discard their own lawful duties and perform unlawful acts. Thus, they led themselves as well as others to hell (fol. 43a-b).

There is another story, given in chaps. 102-103, which narrates the creation of Urvaśī by the sage Nārāyaṇa, one of the four sons of Dharma, the other three being Nara, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. In this story it is said that while Nara and Nārāyaṇa were practising austerities (*tapas*) and *yoga* in the Gandhamādana mountain, 'lions, tigers etc. (turned nonviolent and) moved about complacently in that mountain with deer',⁵⁷ that, apprehending the occupation of heaven by Nara and Nārāyaṇa, Indra sent Rambhā, Tilottamā and other nymphs with Cupid (Smara, Madana) and Spring (Vasanta) to distract the sages, that Nara and Nārāyaṇa gave themselves out to the unsuccessful nymphs to be parts of Vāsudeva who was catur-vyūha, māyīn, and identical with Paramātmān and pervaded and comprised all, and that, being propitiated by the nymphs, Nārāyaṇa gave out a laugh and thus showed the entire universe, together with the gods, in his mouth.

The other stories include those of Sāmbharāyaṇī's attainment of an extremely long life by performing the Māsa-ṛkṣa-pūjā, and her narration to Indra and Brhaspati of the accounts of the previous Indras from her personal knowledge (chap. 27); (Kārtavīrya) Arjuna's

⁵⁶ According to Lakṣmīdhara, Caṇdeśvara and others, Pāṣandas are those who are extra-Vedic (pākhandādayo veda-bāhyāḥ—Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 22; pākhandā veda-bāhyāḥ—Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 28; and so on). Vallālasena takes Pāsandins (or Pāṣandas) to mean those people who give instructions on anti-Vedic Dharma (pāṣandino veda-viparīta-dharmopadestārah—Dānasāgara, p. 57).

⁵⁷ śimha-vyāghrādayaḥ saumyāś ceruḥ saha mrgair girau —Fol. 241a.

birth to her mother Śiladhanā as a result of the latter's observance of the Ananta-vrata, his worship of Viṣṇu in the form of Dattātreya, and his attainment of paramountcy through his favour (chap. 30); keeping a thousand lamps burning day and night in a Viṣṇu-temple by Lalitā (daughter of Citraratha, king of Vīdarbha, and chief queen of Cāruvarman, king of Kāśī), who was, in her previous birth, a mouse in a Viṣṇu-temple (constructed by Maitreya, a Brahmin minister of the king of Sauvīra) on the bank of the river Devikā and chanced to keep a lamp burning there in course of her escape for fear of a cat (chap. 32); Vīrabhadra of Vaidīśa, who, being at the point of death in the Vindhya forest, was found lying on heated sand by a Brahmin named Pipīta (chap. 37); the two Aśvins' meeting at Pratiṣṭhāna with Aila Purūtavas, who would not see them without being properly dressed, their explanation to him of the transitoriness of everything on earth by referring to the opinions of Kapila, Pañcaśikha, Magāriṣṭa (?), Janaka, Hiraṇyagarbha, Jaiṣṭhavya and Devala on the highest bliss (param śreyah), and their instructions to the king on *karma* to be done by him (chap. 38), appearance of Dharma in the form of a Cāṇḍāla, and his instructions to Yudhiṣṭhira on Viṣṇu-worship (chap. 64); Viṣṇu's assumption of the form of a Brahmin and meeting with Janaka, and the latter's praise of the former as the highest truth (chap. 65); an elephant's eulogy of Nārāyaṇa and getting free from the clutch of a crocodile living in a lake on the Citrakūṭa mountain (gajendra-mokṣaṇa—chap. 67); a Kṣatriya's turning a Rākṣasa after death, his attack in his new form on two Brahmins, who saved themselves from his hands by citing the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra and the Sārasvata-stava, and his going to Śālagrāma for practising austerities (chaps. 69-70); Cedi-rāja Vasu's loss of power of moving through the sky, his consequent fall into Pātāla, a nether world, his self-protection from the hands of the Dānavas, who tried to take his life, and his rescue from there by Viṣṇu (chap. 72); Aditi's prayer to Kṛṣṇa for the safety of her sons and the security of Indra, and Kṛṣṇa's entrance into Aditi's womb to be born as her son Vāmana (chap. 75); birth of Vāmana, and his sending of Bali to Sutala, a nether world, saying that as soon as Bali would go against the Brahmins, he would be bound with Varuṇa's

noose (chaps. 76-77); appearance of Viṣṇu's Sudarśana-cakra before Balī after it had been worshipped by the latter to stop the mischief it had been doing to the pregnant wives of Daityas by its passage through the air (chap. 78); Sumanā's dialogue with Śāṇḍilī, a Brahmin woman, who found Sumanā residing happily in heaven with her husband and having an odorous and beautiful body by worshipping Viṣṇu with various articles dear to themselves and by bathing the god with ghee (chap. 81), and king Māndhātṛ's attainment of royal fortune as a result of serving, with his devoted wife, in a Viṣṇu-temple and attending upon Yogins in his previous birth as a cruel Sūdra, who was always bent on doing harm to others, maltreated his chaste and devoted wife, and failed to earn his livelihood by agriculture (chaps. 82-83). In chap. 94 Śaunaka is found to narrate the story of a wicked, treacherous and undutiful Kṣatriya named Vimatī as follows. Being discarded by his parents and relatives for his misconduct Vimatī used to maintain his family by killing animals. During the summer he met in a forest a sage who was afflicted with thirst. Vimatī took pity on him and took him to a lake. The sage was satisfied, and, learning Vimatī's conduct by meditation, advised him to utter the word 'Govinda' incessantly. Vimatī did so and felt happy. In course of time Vimatī died and was reborn in a Brahmin family with the power of recalling the memory of his previous births. In this life he remembered all the previous sufferings and had great indifference. He eulogised Kṛṣṇa for his pity, and the latter freed him from all sins and gave him final release.

From the above indication of the contents of the Viṣṇudharma it is evident that the entire subject-matter of this work has been set out in the forms of a number of primary and secondary dialogues, which are as follows:

1. Principal interlocutors—Śaunaka and Śatānīka.

A. Śaunaka reports to Śatānīka the interlocutions between the following persons:

(1) Brahmā and the sages (Marīci and others) (chap. 1).

(2) Viṣṇu and Ambarīṣa (chap. 2)

(3) Vasiṣṭha and Ambarīṣa (chaps. 2-42).

[Vasiṣṭha reports to Ambarīṣa the interlocution between

(1) Śukra and Prahlāda (chap. 3).

Śukra reproduces to Prahlāda the interlocution between

(a) Pulastya and Dālbhya (4-42).

Pulastya reproduces to Dālbhya the interlocutions

between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī (chaps. 13-16),

between Śamkara and Devī (chaps. 21-22),

between Vasīṣṭha and Arundhatī (chap. 29),

between Maitreyī and Śīladhanā (chap. 30),

between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna (chaps. 35-36),

between the Aśvins and Aila Purūravas (chap. 38).]

(4) Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira (chaps. 43-63).

(5) Bhīma and Yudhiṣṭhira (chap. 67).

(6) Prahlāda and Balī (chaps. 76, 79-83).

[Prahlāda reports to Balī the interlocution between

Vasīṣṭha and Māndhātṛ (chaps. 83-91).

Vasīṣṭha reports to Māndhātṛ the dialogue between

Gauramukha and Parīkṣit (chaps. 89-90).]

In the remaining chapters Śaunaka speaks direct to Śarāṇika.

A perusal of the Viṣṇudharma shows that it is purely a Vaiṣṇava work on the glorification and worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, who, in his supreme state, is said to be the same as Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. According to this work, Kṛṣṇa (often called Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa) is all-powerful (īśa), unborn, eternal and boundless, and, being the Universal Soul, resides in the heart of all. He has no beginning, transcends both the real and the unreal (sadasatah param—chap. 2) and is identical with the Supreme Brahma. He has two states of existence—'para' and 'apara', and is consequently both dual and nondual (bhedābheda-svarūpastha—chap. 1). Although he is unchangeable (aparīṇāmī), he is the cause and source of creation, which is explained from the standpoint of 'bhedābheda' (duality and nonduality—chap. 96). It is he who, in creation, becomes Pradhāna and Puruṣa by *līlā*, and also Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by fancy (chap. 1). He comprises all including the universe, which lies in his belly (brahmāṇdam udareśayam). For the good of created beings he incarnates himself on earth in parts (kalā, amśa) as Vāmana, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, and others.⁵⁸

58 Vāmana is said to be a partial incarnation of Vāsudeva—vāsudevah

Even Kṛṣṇa (son of Vasudeva and Devakī) is said in more places than one to be a partial incarnation of this Supreme Kṛṣṇa⁵⁹ (also called Vāsudeva) who, as has already been said, is the same as Viṣṇu in his supreme state. In chap. 102 Vāsudeva is identified with Paramātmān and said to be *catur-vyūha* and *māyīn*.⁶⁰

As to the best way of realising Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu the Viṣṇudharma puts great stress on the practice of Yoga, which it characterises in the following verse of Śaunaka (said to Śatānīka):

“parena brahmanā sārddham ekatvam yaṁ nṛpātmanah/
sa eva yoga vīkhyātah kim anyad yoga-lakṣaṇam//”

(Chap. 99, fol. 231a).

“It is unity, O king, of the (individual) soul with the Supreme Brahma that is well known as *yoga*. What else is the characteristic of *yoga*?”

kalayāvātīrṇah (chap 76, fol 161b), *amśāvātīrṇena ca yena* (chap. 76, fol 162a).

Nara and Nārāyaṇa describe themselves as extremely small parts of Vāsudeva.—

sa sarva-vāsi-devatvād vāsudevety udāhṛtah/
vayam amśāṁśakās tasya caturvyūhasya māyīnah// (chap 102, fol 244a)

Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu calls Lāṅgalī Rāma (i.e. Balarāma) the second part of himself.—
Cf *dvitīyo yo mamāṁśas tu rāmo 'nantah sa lāṅgalī* (chap 66, fol 127a)

In chap 101 Brahmā and other gods are said to be parts of Viṣṇu.—

yato hi devatāḥ sarvā brahmādyāḥ kuru-nandana/
amśabhūtā jagad-dhātur viṣṇor avyakta-janmanah// (fol 239b).

59 Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, being worshipped by Devakī, assured the latter of his birth as her son, saying:

“bhaviṣyaty acirād devī mad-amśena sutas tava” (chap 90, fol 206a).

See also fol 206b—

avāpa ca tato garbham devakī vasudevatah/
ajāyata ca viśveśah svenāṁśena janārdanah//

By calling Lāṅgalī Rāma the second part of himself Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu suggests that Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa also was one of his parts.

60 For the relevant verse see foot-note 58 above.

It classifies Yoga into two types, viz., *para* and *apara*⁶¹, which are better known as *jñāna-yoga* and *kriyā-yoga* (i. e. *karma-yoga*) respectively; and it briefly distinguishes between these two types saying:

“jñāna-yogaś ca saṁyogaś cittasyaivātmanā tu yah/
yas tu bāhyārtha-sāpekṣaḥ sa kriyā-yoga ucyate//”

(Chap. 80, fol. 183a-b).

“Yoga by knowledge is communion of the mind with Ātman, but Yoga by work is what depends upon external objects.”

By the *apara* type of Yoga (or *Kriyā-yoga*, which is intended for those who are unable to control their mind in spite of their sincere devotion for the god)⁶² it means worship of the deity in images, with the practice of *yama* and *niyama*, which are said to be the causes of success in Yoga (chaps. 99-100). It looks upon *karma* (work) as the only cause of bondage for creatures, and says that *karma* causes the distinction between Kṣetrajña and Paramātmā (bhedaś ca karma-janitaḥ kṣetrajña-paramātmānoḥ—chap. 96, fol. 225a). It follows the Bhagavad-gītā in stating that it is selfless work and constant devotional service and complete self-surrender to the god which can liberate people from the bonds of *karma* and make them merge into him.⁶³ By way of pres-

61 For detailed treatment of *para* and *apara* yoga see chap. 99 (fols 230b-232b).

62 Cf. chap. 2—

bhakti-yātipravaṇasyāpi cañcalaṁ tvaṁ-mano yadi/
mayy upāsyē bhaved bhūpa kuru mad-rūpinim tanum// (fol. 102)

63 Chap. 2, fol. 102a-b—

mad-bhāvanā mad-yajanaṁ mad-bhaktā mat-parāyanāḥ/
mama pūjā-parāś caiva mayi yānti layam narāḥ//
... .. mat-kriyā-paramaḥ param/
padam āpsyasi mā bhais tvam mayy arpita-manā bhava//
mayi saṁnyasya sarvaṁ /
mad-arthaṁ kuru karmāni //

Chap. 79, fol. 176b—

karosī yāni karmāni tāni deve jagat-patau/
samarpayasva bhadraṁ te tataḥ karma prahāsyasi//
ksīna-karmā mahābāho śubhāśubha-vivarjitaḥ/
layam abhyeti govinde tad brahma paramam mahat//

For relevant verses see also chap. 1 (fol. 4b—tannischās tad-gata-dhīyas tat-karmānas tad-āśrayāḥ, etc.).

cribing *karma* which the Vaiṣnavas should do for freedom from bondage and the consequent rebirths, this work extols not only worship, muttering of *mantra*, constant remembrance of the deity, service to Viṣṇu-temples, presents and donations, fasting and other austere practices,⁶⁴ and so on, but also the due performance of Varnāśrama-dharma as known from the Vedas, the Smṛtis (especially that of Manu), and the Purāṇas.⁶⁵ In chap. 74 Viṣṇu is found to speak to Laksmī on the characteristics of his favourites, thus :

“O beautiful lady, those people are my devotees who fare without transgressing even by mind the duties declared by Śruti and Smṛti.

“As I took the form of Brahmā, the Vedas came out of my mouth, and it is to me appearing in the forms of Manu and others that the Smṛtis are known to belong.

“Śruti and Smṛti are my command. He, O auspicious one, who worships me with all his belongings by violating that (command of mine), does not attain me, O venerable one, a violator of (my) command as he is.

“To him, who does not deviate from his own duty or indulge in doing harm (to others) and who always has devotion for me, I am not difficult to attain.”⁶⁶

It is further said that by the due performance of his duties enjoined by his caste and order of life a member of a lower caste is elevated in his next birth to the immediately higher caste, that the reverse happens in case of neglect of the same, and that an honest

64 For mention of some of these practices see chap. 47 (fols 93a ff.)

65 See especially chaps 42, 44, and 52.

66 śruti-smṛty-uditam dharmam manasāpi na ye narāḥ/
samullanghya pravartante te bhaktā mama bhāmini//
brahma-rūpa-dharasyāsyān mama vedā vinihsrtāḥ/
manvādi-rūpinaś caiva samastāḥ smṛtayaḥ smṛtāḥ//
śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ mamaivājñā tām ullanghya yajec chubhe/
sarvasvenāpi mām devī nāpnoty ājñā-vighātakṛt//
yah sva-dharmān na calati himsātau yo na sajyyate/
vāhataḥ tasya mad-bhaktim sadaivāham na durlabhah//

Fol. 157a-b.

and dutiful Brahmin is blessed with final release.⁶⁷ Thus, the Viṣṇudharma firmly believes in caste-system, which, in its opinion, is a pointer to a man's progress to the attainment of final emancipation.

As regards the highest (*para*) type of Yoga (i.e. Jñāna-yoga) the Viṣṇudharma says that it is this Yoga which finally severs the bonds of *karma* and leads one to *kaivalya* by putting a stop to all the functions of the mind. Although this type of yoga is thus 'the veritable ambrosia ensuring the complete cessation of sufferings', it is extremely difficult to attain and requires strenuous efforts extending over many births, because one finds it very difficult to control the organs of senses and to get over their objects (*viṣaya*). On the other hand, being deluded by their own *karma* creatures regard their souls as separate from Paramātmā and undergo rebirths.⁶⁸ So, the Viṣṇudharma extols and prescribes the much easier Kriyā-yoga, which leads definitely to jñāna and thus makes one experience unity with Brahma by completely severing the bonds of *karma*.⁶⁹ According to this work Yoga benefits all without distinction of caste and sex, and this distinction is determined by their progress in Yoga, because by its practice one may pass from womanhood successively through the different states of existence as members of different castes beginning with that of a Śūdra, until one becomes a Brahmin and attains final emancipation. By naming a number of persons of different castes and sexes who attained success in Yoga,⁷⁰ it asserts that the proper

67 Chap. 101, fols. 236b-237a—

śūdra-dharmān aśeṣena kurvan śūdro yathāvidhi/
vaiśyatvam eti vaiśyaś ca ksatriyatvam sva-karmakṛt//
vipratvam ksatriyah samyak dvija-dharma-paro nrpa/
vipraś ca mukti-lābhena yujyate sat-kṛyā-parah//
68 paśyaty ātmānam anyatra yāvad vai paramātmānah/
tāvat sa bhrāmyate jantur mohito nija-karmanā//

Chap. 96, fol. 225a.

69 samkṣiṇāśeṣa-karmā tu param brahma prapaśyati; and
samkṣiṇa-karma-bandhasya na bhedo brahmanā saha

Chap. 96, fol. 225a.

70 These persons are Jaigīśavya, Asita, Hiranyanābha, Janaka, Tulādhara and other Vaiśyas, Pelavaka and other Śūdras, Maitreyi, Sulabhā, Gārgi, Śāndilī, Dharmavyādha and others. (Fol. 230a-b).

practice of Yoga is sure to lead one of any caste or sex to final release.⁷¹

It has already been said that in chap. 1 the Viṣṇudharma describes Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu) as 'bhedābheda-svarūpastha', and in chap. 96 it explains the creation of the universe from the standpoint of 'bhedābheda'. So, there is little scope for doubt that the philosophical view advocated by the Viṣṇudharma is 'bhedābheda' or 'dvaitādvaita' (duality and nonduality). As a matter of fact, this work expressly says:

“advaitam paramārtho hi dvaitam tad-bheda ucyace/
ubhayam brahmano rūpam dvaitādvaita-vibhedaḥ//”⁷²

The Viṣṇudharma, as we have it at present, is decidedly a work of the Bhāgavatas. It prescribes the sectarian *mantra* 'om namo vāsudevāya' (chap. 79, fol. 181b), and characterises and highly praises the Bhāgavatas at more places than one.⁷³ It looks upon these sectaries as superior to the performers of austerity (*tapas*) and costly sacrifices, and says that to be eligible for Viṣṇu-worship one has to become a Bhāgavata, because no one other than a Bhāgavata can merge in him or even eulogise him rightly or see him or have true knowledge about him.⁷⁴ It further adds that it is by great religious merit that a person becomes a Bhāgavata devoted to Bhagavat Janārdana, who is the same as Paramātmā,⁷⁵ and that the god of death does not allow his servants to lay their hands on the sincere Bhāgavatas.⁷⁶

We shall now try to determine the period of composition of the present Viṣṇudharma, which has been recognised very widely as a

71 See chap. 98

72 Chap 96, fol. 225b

73 See chaps 3, 79 and 80

74 For the relevant verse see foot-note 38 above.

75 paramātmā ca bhagavān viśvakseno janārdanaḥ/
tad-bhaktimān bhāgavato nālpa-punyena jāyate//

Chap 79, fol 176a

76 Cf ye tu bhāgavatā loke bhavitās tat-parāyanāḥ/
pūjayanti sadā viṣṇum te vas tyājyāḥ sudūrataḥ//
(said by Yama to his servants) —Chap 80, fol. 184a

respectable source of Dharma. As a matter of fact, on the strength of some verses of the *Bhaviṣya-p.*⁷⁷ Lakṣmīdhara, Caṇdeśvara and others accept the *Viṣṇudharma* to be as much authoritative on Dharma as the *Purāṇas* and rank it with the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa* etc.⁷⁸ These scholars as well as many others quote from it numerous verses, and sometimes even complete chapters, in their respective works. For instance, verses are found quoted from chap. 4 in Gadādhara's *Kālasāra*, from chaps. 2, 4, 10, 25, 32, 81 and 105 in Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, from chaps 48 and 53 in Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's *Dāna-kaumudī*, from chaps. 9, 25, 88 and 91 in Caṇdeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, from chaps. 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 21, 24, 25, 34, 49, 50, 53, 61, 79, 83, 84 and 86-89 in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, from chap. 81 in Devaṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā*, from chaps 22, 25, 38, 60 and 86-88 in Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, from chaps. 25, 45, 53, 58-60, 85-88 and 91 in Vallālasena's *Dānasāgara*, from chaps. 9 and 13 in Jīmūtavāhana's *Kālaviveka*, and from chaps. 96-98 in the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad-bhāṣya* ascribed to Saṃkara.⁷⁹ In his account of India Alberūnī names the '*Viṣṇudharma*', to which he ascribes the verses quoted by him from the present *Viṣṇudharmottara*, obviously by taking the latter work to be a part of the former. The present *Viṣṇudharmottara*, which, as we shall see afterwards,^{79a} was composed between 400 and 500 A.D., betrays

77 These verses are the following:

astādaśa-purāṇesu yāni vākyāni putraha/
tāny ālocya mahābāho tathā smṛty-antaresu ca//
manv-ādi-smṛtayo yās tu satṭriṃśat parikīrtitāh/
tāsāṃ vākyāni kramaśah samālocya bravīmi te//

and astādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā/

viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata// etc. (quoted above)

For these verses see *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, I, pp. 24 and 25, *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, pp 29 and 30, and so on.

78 See *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, I, p. 25, and *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, p. 30. See also *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, I, p. 22.

79 According to S. K. Belvalkar the ascription of the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad-bhāṣya* to Saṃkarācārya 'is more or less debatable'—See Belvalkar, *Shree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy*, p. 218.

79a Under '*Viṣṇudharmottara*' below. See also Hazra in *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, III, 1952, pp 43-58

its knowledge of the Viṣnudharma by claiming, in two of its verses,⁸⁰ to be the latter part of this work and by giving some stories which are decidedly based on and developed from the same as occurring in it^{80a} By a critical examination of the genuine Āgneya-purāna (*alias* Vahni-purāna)⁸¹ we have found that this work originally concerned itself with the Fire cult of the Agnihotrī Brahmins of the Yajurveda, dealt with the five Purāṇic topics as well as with the various duties and sacrificial rites of these Brahmins, and advocated the worship of Rudra in the form of Agni, that it passed through three main stages before attaining its present form, extent and character, and that in the second stage it was appropriated by the Vaisnavas (most probably the Bhāgavatas) who modified this work with chapters and verses from the Viṣnudharma dealing with Vaisnava Kriyā-yoga and having Vasistha and king Ambarīṣa as the principal interlocutors.⁸² As these chapters and verses common to the two works are very numerous and as the Viṣnudharma has not yet been printed and its verses are not numbered, we give below a list of only those chapters of the two works which have large numbers of verses common to them.

Āgneya-p.	Viṣnudharma	Āgneya-p	Viṣnudharma
28 1-36 —	Chap. 1	Chap 36 —	Chaps 82,
28 37ff. —	„ 2.	(verses 27ff)	86 and 87.
29. 1ff. —	Chaps. 3	„ 37 —	Chap. 88.
	and 66	„ 59 (verses 46ff) —	„ 81.
Chap 11 —	Chap 52	„ 63 —	„ 61.
„ 31 —	„ 80	etc	etc.

That the Āgneya-p. took these common chapters and verses from the Viṣnudharma, can be established by the following evidences:

(2) At the beginning of chap. 28 of the Āgneya-p. the sages

80 For these two verses see foot-note 24 above

80a For the relevant chapters containing these stories and for the grounds of their later date, see under 'Viṣnudharmottara' below

81 In 1951 I discovered this work from the ASB Ms No. 8090, which was found wrongly described in Shastri's ASB Cat., V, p. 422 to be a Ms of the spurious Agni-p. published so often from different parts of India

82 For our analysis of the genuine Āgneya-p. (*alias* Vahni-p) see Our Heritage (a half-yearly Bulletin of the Research Department, Sanskrit College, Calcutta), I, 1953, pp 209-245, and II, 1954, pp 77-110 See also Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, V, 1956, pp. 411-416.

request Sūta to speak on the various acts which please 'Kṛṣṇa' and yield final liberation; and in compliance with this request Sūta agrees to tell them elaborately about (Kṛiyā-) Yoga, which, he says, was spoken out to him by his father, who had received it from Vahnī, the Fire-god, through Marīci. He then goes on to speak on Kṛiyā-yoga and narrates the story of king Ambarīṣa in almost the same way and the same words as those in Viṣṇudharma, chaps 1-3, the main difference between the two sources being that in the Viṣṇudharma this story is narrated by Śaunaka to king Śatānīka and Kṛiyā-yoga is said to have been spoken out first by Brahmā to Marīci, Bṛghu and others and then by Vasiṣṭha to king Ambarīṣa through Viṣṇu's favour, whereas in Āgneya-p, chap. 28 it is narrated by Sūta to the sages of the Naimiṣa forest as an interlocution between Vahnī (the Fire-god) and Marīci, and the discourse on Kṛiyā-yoga is traced back to the Fire-god (Vahnī, Agnī), who is said to have narrated it first of all to Marīci and others and from whom Vasiṣṭha is said to have heard it during a sacrifice (instituted most probably by Marīci).⁸³

(2) In all the Mss of the Āgneya-p. we have been able to consult, the colophon of chap 28 (which contains the said story of king Ambarīṣa and has, in its latter part, many verses in common with chap. 2 of the Viṣṇudharma) has been given as 'devāmbarīṣa-saṁvādo nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyah', clearly in imitation of the colophon of chap. 2 of the Viṣṇudharma which runs as 'iti viṣṇudharmesv acyutāmbarīṣa-saṁvādo nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyah'.

(3) It is in chap. 28 of the Āgneya-p (and not in chap. 3, wherein the story is given as to how the Fire-god came to speak to Marīci and other sages on the various Purāṇic topics) that Vasiṣṭha is mentioned for the first time and said to have heard the Kṛiyā-yoga from Vahnī during a sacrifice (instituted most probably by Marīci)

(4) In several places of the Āgneya-p. the words 'viṣṇudharma', 'vaiṣṇava dharma' and 'vaiṣṇava-dharma' have been used, though in their literal sense.

It should be mentioned here that in chap. 3 of the Āgneya-p the Fire-god is said to have spoken to Marīci and other sages on the

83 For the relevant verses see Āgneya-p., chap. 28, verses 10-12 (fol. 97a) and 118-119 (fol. 101a).

different Purāṇic topics during the sacrifice instituted by Marīci, there being no mention of Vaiṣṇava Kṛiyā-yoga or of Vasistha as a hearer, that it is as late as in chap. 28 (which, as we have already seen, is constituted of verses mostly taken from Viṣṇudharma, chap. 2) that Vasistha is mentioned for the first time and said to have heard discourses on Vaiṣṇava Kṛiyā-yoga from the Fire-god during a sacrifice (most probably the one instituted by Marīci),⁸⁴ and that in several places of the Āgneya-p. Vasistha has been made to refer either to Vahni as the original speaker or to the interlocution between Vahni and Marīci.⁸⁵ So, there is no doubt that the interlocution between Vasistha and Ambarīṣa marks a later stage in the constitution of the present Āgneya-p. than that in which this Purāṇa was a work of the Agnihotrī Brahmins of the Yajurveda and had Vahni and Marīci as interlocutors.

From what has been said above it is evident that the Āgneya-p. borrowed the common chapters and verses from the Viṣṇudharma. Our critical analysis of this work has shown that it must have been recast by the Vaiṣnavas not later than 500 A.D.⁸⁶ The way in which the language and contents of the Viṣṇudharma, as well as the colophon of chap. 2 and the speaker Vasistha in chaps. 2-42 of the same work, have been utilised in the Āgneya-p., shows definitely that at the time when the Āgneya-p. was recast by the Vaiṣnavas, the Viṣṇudharma attained sufficient recognition in society. That this recognition was very wide and deep-rooted is quite evident from the facts that in two of its verses the Viṣṇudharmottara claims to be the latter part of the Viṣṇudharma and that the Bhavisya-p. mentions it once in the Madhyama-parvan (7. 8b-11), and twice in the Brāhma-parvan (4. 87-89, and 216. 36-37) together with 'the eighteen Purāṇas', the Rāmāyana (called 'Rama's biography'), the Śivadharmā, the Mahābhārata and the Sauradharma. It may be mentioned here that the present Brāhma-parvan of the Bhavisya-p. cannot be dated

84 For the relevant verses see Āgneya-p. 28. 10-12 (fol. 97a), 28. 118-9 (fol. 101a), and 29. 3 (fol. 101a).

85 See, for instance, Āgneya-p. 29. 3 (fol. 101a), 53. 4 (fol. 161a), and 54. 35a (fol. 165b).

86 See Our Heritage, II, 1954, p. 79.

much later than the sixth century A.D.⁸⁷ Like the Āgneya-p. the Bhavisyottara also has a good number of chapters in common with the Viṣṇudharma,⁸⁸ and it may be that these chapters were taken by the Bhavisyottara from the Viṣṇudharma.⁸⁹ As the Bhavisyottara must have been compiled between 700 and 800 A.D., and most probably towards the end of the eighth century,⁹⁰ it could not have been utilised by the Viṣṇudharma, except in the case of two chapters to be mentioned hereinafter. Whatever the relation between the Bhavisyottara and the Viṣṇudharma may have been, it is evident that the Viṣṇudharma attained wide recognition as a respectable authority on Dharma by the beginning of the fifth century A.D. So, it could not be composed later than about 300 A.D.

This lower limit of the date of the Viṣṇudharma finds full support in the facts that this work, though speaking so often of Viṣṇu-worship, is completely free from Tantric elements, that it does not betray its knowledge of any work written later than the end of the second century A.D., and that it mentions the Naksatras in the old order from Kṛttikā.⁹¹ We know from the evidence of the Śrauta- and the Gṛhya-sūtras, the Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, and the latest books of the

87 See Hazra, Purānic Records, p. 172

88 These common chapters are the following

Bhavisyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV)		Viṣṇudharma		Bhavisyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV)		Viṣṇudharma
Chap. 77	=	Chap. 14.		Chap. 107	=	Chap. 27
„ 78	=	„ 15.		„ 108	=	„ 29.
„ 79	=	„ 16.		„ 130	=	„ 32
„ 82	=	„ 37.		„ 152	=	„ 86.
„ 106	=	„ 30		„ 153	=	„ 88.

Bhav. I. 107 = Viṣṇudharma, chap. 10

Bhav. I. 20, and IV. 15—cf Viṣṇudharma, chap. 41.

89 The line 'vārāhena purā proktām mahāpātaka-nāśinīm' of Bhav. IV. 152 (which agrees with Viṣṇudharma, chap. 86) raises doubt about the source of the Bhavisyottara and seems to suggest that at least this chapter was derived by the Bhavisyottara from the Varāha-p.

90 See Hazra in Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, III, 1953, pp. 24-26

91 See Viṣṇudharma, chap. 26 (fol. 44a)

Mahābhārata that the old arrangement of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī was in vogue at least some time after the beginning of the third century A.D. When this order of the Nakṣatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as late as about 550 A.D. that we find in the Brhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira the order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So, it can be held, and not quite unreasonably, that the old order of the Nakṣatras held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

As regards the upper limit of the date of the Viṣṇudharma it may be said that it mentions the Smṛti works of Manu and others,⁹² incorporates verses from the Mahābhārata,⁹³ the Bhagavad-gītā,⁹⁴ and the Manu-smṛti,⁹⁵ frequently denounces the Pāṣaṇḍas, especially the Buddhists,⁹⁶ speaks very highly of the Bhāgavatas,⁹⁷ and narrates the interesting story of Mahāmoha,⁹⁸ which must have preceded that (in Viṣṇu-p. III. 17-18) giving out the Buddha to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu. So, the Viṣṇudharma is to be dated not earlier than 200 A.D.

Thus, *the date of composition of the present Viṣṇudharma falls between 200 and 300 A.D.*

92 Ibid, chap 44 (fols 88b ff), in which the Dharma-saṃhitās of Manu, Vasistha, Parāśara, Atri, Gārgya, and many others have been mentioned. For these names see foot-note 45 above.

93 For instance, Mbh I 74 30 (āditya-candrāv analānilau ca) etc. occur in Viṣṇudharma, chap 55 (fol 101b), Mbh XIII 115 64 (caturo vārsikān māsān) etc. occur in Viṣṇudharma, chap 62 (fols 112b ff), Mbh III. 190 13b-21a, 23, 25-26a, 30, 36, 43b-44, 46b, 49, etc. occur in Viṣṇudharma, chap 105 (fols 255a ff), and so on.

94 For verses of the Bhagavad-gītā see Viṣṇudharma, chap. 2 (fol. 9a—man-manā bhava mad-bhaktah), chap 66 (fol 123a—yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānī) In chap. 35 (fols 65b-66a—bhagavān uvāca—pūrvam eva yathākhyātam rānā-rambhe tavārjuna, etc) there is a clear reference to the Bhagavad-gītā.

95 For verses of the Manu-smṛti (3 2, 6 2, etc) see especially chap 101 of the Viṣṇudharma.

96 See Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 25, 66, 73, 105, and so on.

97 Ibid, chaps. 3, 80, etc.

98 Ibid., chap 25.

This early origin of the Viṣṇudharma must not be taken to be disproved by the mention of the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 66, because from an examination of the different lists of Viṣṇu's incarnations as given in the Purāṇas, Pāñcarātra Samhitās, and various other works we have found that the Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu not very much earlier than 500 A.D.⁹⁹ The relevant verses of Viṣṇudharma, chap 66 run as follows :

tataḥ kali-yuge ghore samprāpte 'bja-samudbhava/
 śuddhodana-suto buddho bhaviṣyāmi vimatsarah//
 bauddham dharmam upāśritya kariṣye dharma-deśanām/
 narāṇām atha nārīṇām dayām bhūteṣu darśayan//
 raktāmbara-vyāñjitāṅgāḥ praśānta-manasas tathā/
 śūdrā dharmam pravakṣyanti mayi buddhatvam āgate//
 cūka-cihnā pṛthivī na deva-grha-bhūṣitā/
 bhavitrī prāyaśo brahman mayi buddhatvam āgate//
 skandha-darśana-mātram hi paśyantiḥ sakalam jagat/
 śūdrāḥ śūdreṣu dāsyanti mayi buddhatvam āgate//
 alpāyusas tito martyā mohopahata-cetasah/
 narakārchāṇi karmāṇi kariṣyanti prajāpate//
 svādhyāyeṣy avasīdanto brāhmanīḥ śauca-varjitāḥ/
 antya-pratigrahiḥādānam kariṣyanty alpa-medhasah//
 na śroṣyanti pituḥ putrāḥ śvaśrū-śvaśurayoh snuṣāḥ/
 na bhāryā bhartur īśasya na bhṛtyā vinaḡa-schitāḥ//
 varṇa-saṁkaratām prāpte loke 'smiṁ dasyutām gate/
 brāhmaṇādīṣu varneṣu bhaviṣyaty adharottaram//
 dharma-kañcuka-saṁvītā vidharima-rucayas tathā/
 mānuṣāṇ bhakṣayiṣyanti mlecchāḥ pāṛthiva rūpeṇaḥ//¹⁰⁰

There is no scope for doubt that these verses (in which Viṣṇu speaks to Brahman) are later additions and were inserted into the Viṣṇudharma

99 See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp 41-42.

100 The above text of these verses is based on those given in ASB MSs Nos. 1670 (fol. 127a-b) and 3506 (fol. 101a), which have variants too numerous to be noted here.

The line 'cūka-cihnā pṛthivī na deva-grha-bhūṣitā' is the same as Mbh III. 190. 67b.

after its language and contents had been utilised in the genuine Āgneya-p. in the second stage of its modification. The reasons for such a conclusion are as follows:

(1) In connection with a description of the Kali age Āgneya-p. 29. 41 (fol. 102b) names the Buddha in the line 'śūdrā dharmam vadiṣyanti sāksād buddhopajīvinah', but here the Buddha appears as the founder of a heretical faith, and there is not the slightest indication anywhere in the whole work that it looked upon the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. There is, of course, mention of 'ten incarnations' (daśāvatāra), without any complete list, in three places of the Āgneya-p., viz., in chaps. 3, 23 and 28, but this mention does not necessarily mean that the Buddha was one of them. According to the Narasimha-p., which, as we shall see afterwards, has a good number of verses in common with the Āgneya-p., the ten manifestations or incarnations (prādurbhāvāḥ, avatārāḥ—Nar. 54. 1, 6) are the following: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma (son of Daśaratha), Balabhadra (Rāma), Kṛṣṇa and Kalki (Nar. 36-54).¹⁰¹ Thus, in its list of Viṣṇu's ten manifestations or incarnations the Narasimha-p. names both Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, but not the Buddha. As a matter of fact, the Buddha came to be included in the list of Viṣṇu's incarnations in place of Kṛṣṇa after the latter had ceased to be looked upon by a considerable section of people as a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu and had become the Bhagavat himself.

(2) Like the Narasimha-p., Viṣṇu-p. and other early works, the Viṣṇudharma names both Kṛṣṇa and 'Lāṅgalī Rāma' as partial incarnations of Viṣṇu in the thirteen lines (on fols. 126b-127a) immediately preceding those on the Buddha incarnation quoted above. It also names Kalki, son of Viṣṇuyaśas, in the nine lines following those on the Buddha.

(3) By way of describing *dharma* in the different Yugas in chap. 104 the Viṣṇudharma names Kṛṣṇa and Kalki, but not the Buddha.

¹⁰¹ That Nar 36 9a, mentioning the Buddha as one of the manifestations of Viṣṇu, is undoubtedly spurious, we shall see below (under 'Narasimha-p.')

(4) In many other places of the Viṣṇudharma the incarnations of Viṣṇu have been named,¹⁰² but there is no mention of the Buddha as an incarnation of this god anywhere except in the verses of chap. 66 quoted above. On the other hand, the Buddha has clearly been identified with Māyāmoha born of the malevolent rite (called *hṛtyā*) performed by the demons Śaṇḍa and Marka for the destruction of the gods, and his followers have been denounced at every step.

The name 'Māyāmohaka' for Viṣṇu, as occurring in king Ambariṣa's eulogy of the god in chap. 2 (fol. 7b) of ASB Ms No 1670 of the Viṣṇudharma, need not be taken to be based on Viṣṇu-p. III. 17 and 18, which narrate the story of Viṣṇu's creation of the delusive figure called Māyāmoha from his own body. In the other ASB Ms (No. 3506) of the Viṣṇudharma, which we have been able to consult, this name has been given as 'Māyāmohana' (which, therefore, has to be taken in its literal sense). The tradition of Viṣṇu's deluding creatures with his Māyā is very ancient and well known. The Viṣṇudharma itself says that pleasure in the association of Pāśaṇḍas and partiality for their logic are caused by Viṣṇu-māyā.¹⁰³ Moreover, the story of Māyāmoha in Viṣṇu-p. III. 17-18 is to be dated later than the middle of the fourth century A. D. and probably not earlier than 500 A.D.¹⁰⁴

102 For instance, chap. 28 names Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Rāma (Dāśarathī), Vaiṭanṭha, Nara and Hayagrīva, chap 39 omits Vaikuntha and Nara of chap. 28 but adds Bhārgavottama, chap. 40 names only Narasimha, Rāma (Dāśarathī) and Paraśurāma, chap 67 names Kaurma, Mātsya, Vārāha, Vāmana, Tārṇasya and Nārasimha, chap. 68 names Varāha, Vāmana and Narasimha (the line 'rāmo rāmaś ca rāmaś ca etc.' on fol 137a not occurring in ASB Ms No. 3506), and chap. 90 names Varāha, Nrsimha, Vāmana, Aśvasīras, Jāmadagnya, Rāghava and Kṛṣṇa (who is called 'recent'—*sāmpratam*).

The incarnations, named in chap. 66, are the following: Vārāha, Kāpila (said to be the first incarnation in a human form—*jānāmi kāpilam rūpam prathamam paṇḍuram mama*—fol 126a), Nrsimha, Kūrma, Vāmana, Dattātreyā, Bhārgava-rāma, Rāghava-rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Lāṅgali Rāma (said to be the second part of Viṣṇu—*dvitīyo yo mamāṁśah*—fol. 127a), and Kalki, the verses on the Buddha being spurious.

103 *pāśaṇḍesu ratiḥ pumsām hetu-vādānuhūlatā/*
jāyate viṣṇu-māyāmbhaḥ-patitānām durātmanām// Chap. 3 (fol 11b)

104 See Hazra, *Purānic Records*, pp. 24-25.

The early date, to which we have assigned the *Viṣṇudharma*, must not be taken to be that of all its chapters and verses. We have already seen that a part of chap. 66, dealing with the Buddha incarnation, is spurious. There are also two more complete chapters which were derived, most probably at a much later date, from the *Bhaviṣyottara*. These are chaps. 19 and 20, which are practically the same as *Bhaviṣyottara* (i.e. *Bhav. IV*), chaps 80 and 105 respectively. It is remarkable that in the other chapters of the *Viṣṇudharma* in which Pulastya speaks to Dālbhya, the latter has been addressed as 'dvijaśreṣṭha', 'brahman,' 'mahāmune' etc.; but in the said two chapters (19 and 20) he has been addressed as 'pārthiva', 'nrpa,' 'manuṣeśvara,' 'rājan' etc. This abrupt change in the personality of Dālbhya is due to the facts that in the *Bhaviṣyottara*, from which these chapters were derived, Kṛṣṇa speaks to king Yudhiṣṭhira, and that when chaps. 80 and 105 were incorporated into the *Viṣṇudharma* to form chaps. 19 and 20 respectively, no attempt was made to adapt them to the interlocutors Pulastya and Dālbhya of the *Viṣṇudharma*.

It will be interesting here to describe the circumstances which, according to the *Viṣṇudharma*, necessitated and inspired the composition of this Vaisnava 'Śāstra' as early as in the third century A.D.

From a study of ancient Indian history we learn that during the few centuries from the time of Aśoka Maurya's reign, there was a great spread of Buddhism in and outside India. The *Viṣṇudharma* amply testifies to the spread of this and other heretical faiths, the followers of which it calls 'Pāṣandins' (or 'Pāśandas') and defines thus:

“śruti-smṛty-uditam dharmam varnāśrama-vibhāgaḥ/
 ullanghya ye pravartante svecchayā kūṭa-yuktibhiḥ//
 vikarmābhīratā mūdhā yukti-prāgalbhya-durmadāḥ/
 pāṣandinas te duḥśīlā narakārthā narādhamāḥ//”¹⁰⁵

“Those, who fare wilfully by transgressing, with puzzling argumentation, the duties (dharma) arising from the distinction of castes and orders of life (and) declared by Śruti and Smṛti, and who, being infatuated, set themselves to unlawful work and are maddened by

(their) skill in reasoning, are Pāṣaṇḍins, the worst of men, having reproachable conduct and deserving (residence in) hell."

We have already seen in the story of Mahāmoha how, according to the Viṣṇudharma, these Pāṣaṇḍins encouraged indiscipline in society by decrying Śruti and Smṛti and encouraging the violation of their prescriptions as regards the rites and duties of the different castes and orders of life and the performance of unlawful acts. In giving a dismal picture of the evils of the Kali age in chap. 105 the Viṣṇudharma repeats many verses of Mahābhārata III. 190¹⁰⁶ and adds:

"People will hanker after property earned by unfair means, and females (eager for union with males) will ardently wish (to imitate) the beauty and gestures of prostitutes.

"... ..
 "... .. People will forsake the Vedas and the twice-born (Brahmins) and direct their attention to other things.

"Then, being overpowered by Time, they will forsake Brahmā and other gods who enjoy shares in the sacrificial offerings and are read of in the Vedas by the twice-born (people), and, being given to (heretical) dialectics, will create other deities.

"... ..
 "... .. At that time they will have much regard neither for bath nor for (physical) purification.

"The minds of people will not be inclined to devotion for Viṣṇu in the Kali age, after Kṛṣṇa, being characterised by blackness, comes down.

"During the first quarter (of this age) people will decry Hari, but at its end none will utter his name.

"... ..
 "If, during this Kali age, in which the earth will be crowded with many heretics, a virtuous person will utter the words 'I bow down to you, Kṛṣṇa' (kṛṣṇāya te namaḥ),

"the heretics, decrying the system of the four stages of life, will create delusion (of the mind) by means of (their) power of (rationalistic) argumentation and the rogues.

106 For these verses see foot-note 93 above.

“Then this earth, turning heretical to a very great extent and (consequently) growing uncultured, will be made difficult (for residence) by the pseudo-ascetics.

“At that time the vile Śūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will not serve the twice-born people, nor will they practise their own *dharma*.

“Some will become Utkocas¹⁰⁷ (?), Saugatas, Mahāyānists, and the heretical Kāpilas and Bhikṣus,

“while other wicked Śūdras will turn Śākyas, Śrāyakas, Nirgranthas and Siddhaputras in the Kali age.

“Turning wandering mendicants the villainous Śūdras will undergo no (physical) purification, have crooked nature, and habitually live on food prepared by others.

“These and many others, as well as the Brahmins, Ksatriyas, Vaiśyas etc. will turn heretics

“These mean people will misappropriate state revenue, rob the householders, remain concealed by (assuming) the appearance and dress of sages, and subsist on trade.

“Being perverted by (heretical) reasoning (and) by compositions (made) in the language of Mlecchas, people in the Kali (age) will respect neither the twice-born (Brahmins) nor the Vedas.

“With their growing extremely wicked in this way, others (also) will turn wicked by following their path and moving about in a wrong way.

“Then people will utter unrefined speech, denounce the Vedic works, and make the world stray from the right path.”¹⁰⁸

107 In ASB Ms No. 3506 (fol 179b) this name has been given as ‘Utkauca’ (utkaucāh).

108 The relevant verses, as reconstructed from ASB Mss Nos 1670 (fols 255b-257a) and 3506 (fols 179a-180a), are the following.

anyāyopātta-vittesu karisyanti narāḥ sprhām/
veśyā-lāvanya-bhāvesu sprhām yosit karisyati//

narā veda-dvijāms tyaktvā bhaviṣyanty anyato-mukhāḥ/
yajña-bhāga-bhujo devā ye veda-pathitā dvijaḥ/
brahmādyās tān parityajya narāḥ kāla-balātkṛtāḥ//
hetu-vāda-parā devān karisyanty aparāms tadā//

... ..

Regarding the state of Vaiṣṇavism and Kṛṣṇa-worship in those days the Viṣṇudharma further says in chap. 73:

“(Those) who, though ignorant, take themselves to be wise by following heretical dialectics and, with their knowledge screened by nescience (avidyā), consider a life dependent on Kṛṣṇa to be not worth living,

“and (also those) who take to misleading argumentation in refuting the statements in favour (of the authority) of the Vedas,—in their heart Keśava never becomes a dear guest.

bahu mamṣyanti na snānam nāpi śaucam tadā narāḥ / /
na visnu-bhakti-pravanam narāṇam nrpa mānasam /
bhavitā tu kalau prāpte kṛṣṇe kṛtsnyopalaksite / /
vinindām prathamā pāde karisyanti harer narāḥ /
yugānte tu harer nāma naiva kaścid grhīsyati / /
... ..
bahu-pāśanda-samkīrṇe jagaty asmin kalau yuge /
kṛṣṇāya te namas tatra sukṛtī yadi vaksyati / /
hetu-vāda-balair moham kuhakais ca janais tadā /
pāśandīnāḥ karisyanti cāturāśramya-dūṣakāḥ / /
pāśanda-bhūtam atyartham jagad etad asamskṛtam /
bhaviṣyati tadā bhūpa vrthā-pravrajitokotam / /
na tu dvijāti-śūśrūṣām na sva-dharmānupālanaṁ /
karisyanti tadā śūdrāḥ pravrajyā-lingino 'dhamāḥ / /
utkocāḥ saugatās caiva mahāyāna-ratās tathā /
bhaviṣyanty atha pāśandāḥ kāpilā bhikṣavas tathā / /
śākyāḥ śrāvaka-miṣṭhāḥ siddhaputrās tathāpare /
bhaviṣyanti durātmānāḥ śūdrāḥ kali-yuge nrpa / /
niśaucā vakra-matayaḥ para-pākāṇṇa-bhojināḥ /
bhaviṣyanti durātmānāḥ śūdrāḥ pravrajitās tadā / /
ete cānye ca bahavaḥ pāśandāḥ puruṣasabha /
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā bhaviṣyanti tathāpare / /
rāja-śulka-harāḥ ksudrā grhastha-pariṃśakāḥ /
muni-veśākṛti-cchannā vāṇijyam upajivakāḥ /
na dvijān na kalau vedān pūjayisyanti mānavāḥ / /
mleccha-bhāṣā-nibandhaḥ tu hetu-vādair vikūlitāḥ / /
evam tesv atidustesu vimārga-parivartināḥ /
bhaviṣyanty apare dustās teṣāṁ mārgānuyāyināḥ / /
asamskṛtokti-vaktāro veda-śāstra-vinindakāḥ /
agad unmārga-kartāro bhaviṣyanti tadā narāḥ / /

“There is no expiation for those wicked people who decry his (i. e. Kṛṣṇa's) activities by taking him to be a human being.

“Some (people) call him a god, some of poor intellect give him out to be a man, (while) others, being deluded by his Māyā, take Viṣṇu (to have been born) in the state of a lower animal”¹⁰⁹.

From the above description of the effects of the spread of the heresies in the Indian society of those days it is evident that the indefatigable efforts of the heretic dialecticians, especially Buddhist, helped the wide spread of the anti-vedic faiths, especially Buddhism, among all grades of people and encouraged the breach of social discipline as understood by the followers and supporters of the Vedic way of life. As a matter of fact, it was the irrefutable reasonings of the heretic dialecticians which popularised their faiths to such a great extent and made the people lose faith in Kṛṣṇa and other deities respected and worshipped by the followers of the Vedas and the Varnāśrama-dharma. We have already seen how the heretical dialectics have been mentioned repeatedly in the Viṣṇudharma with a feeling of awe and frustration. In a verse of chap. 105 it has been said that in the Kali age even a fool gives an irrefutable answer by taking to the (heretical) way of reasoning.¹¹⁰ So, it is clearly the wide spread of the heresies, especially Buddhism, which encouraged the composition of the present Viṣṇudharma and similar other sectarian ‘Śāstras’ of the Śaivas, Sauras and others.

We have already seen how, by following the teachings of the Bhagavad-gītā, the present Viṣṇudharma advocates the practice of Yoga for the realisation of Viṣṇu-Brahma; and it can hardly be denied

109 heyām kṛṣṇāśrayām vṛttim manyante hetu-samśritāḥ /
 avidyopahata-jñānā ye 'jñānā jñāna-māninaḥ //,
 veda-vāda-virodhena kūta-yuktim upāśritāḥ /
 ye keśavas taddhṛdaye na kadācit priyātithiḥ //
 mānusam tam manusyatve manyamānāḥ ku-buddhayaḥ /
 karmāni ye 'sya nindanti na tesām niskṛtiḥ nrnām //
 kecid vadanti tam devam manusyam cālpa-medhasaḥ /
 tiryakte cāpare viṣṇum māyayā tasya mohitāḥ // (fol. 154b)

110 hetu-vādāśrito mūḍho dadāty uttaram aksayam. —Fol. 259a

that this advocacy was inspired to a great extent by the teachings of the heretical faiths, for which theistic Yoga was the most suitable antidote. Though prescribing this Yoga to all including women and Sūdras, the Viṣṇudharma extols the Vedas and the Varnāśrama-dharma and tries hard to keep the people aloof from the influence of the Pāṣaṇḍas. It declares Śruti and Smṛti to be the commands of the Bhagavat himself,¹¹¹ regards the Purāṇa, the Mānava Dharma (-Śāstra), and the Vedas together with the Aṅgas as authoritative by origin and consequently unquestionable, and says: "One should know that man to have derived his origin from a part of an Asura who bears hatred towards Govinda and decries the twice-born (Brahmins) and the Vedas"¹¹². It tries to impress upon the people that one's caste depends wholly on one's actions in the previous births (chap. 57), that the due performance of one's caste-duties without any feeling of attachment, hatred, etc. destroys the previous actions causing rebirth,¹¹³ and that 'it is the Vedas, the deities, the sacrifices and the twice-born (Brahmins), who, being eulogised, praised and worshipped with much respect, confer the highest bliss (param śreyah)'¹¹⁴. It speaks very highly of Brahmins as well as of various kinds of service¹¹⁵ rendered to them and glorifies them saying that they can reduce people to ashes, create Lokas and Lokapālas, and lead the aspirants to heaven, and that it was they who made the waters of oceans saline and undrinkable and whose fire of wrath still burns in the Daṇḍaka forest (chap. 52). It encourages the cultivation of various personal virtues such as universal friendship, satisfaction, kindness, tolerance, regard for others' wives as mothers, and so on, and urges the avoidance of attachment, untruth, himsā and other vices, and especially of association and conversation with the Pāṣaṇḍas not only during Viṣṇu-worship and the observance of the Vaisnava

111 For the relevant verse see foot-note 66 above.

112 Chap. 3 (fol. 11b).

113 Chap. 42 (fol. 87a)

114 Chap. 33 (fol. 63b).

115 Such as rendering hospitality to Brahmins as guests, shampooing their feet, saving them at the sacrifice of one's own life, and so on.

Vratas but also on other occasions¹¹⁶. In case of conversation with these heretics it prescribes expiations, viz., citation of particular Vedic and Purāṇic verses, remembering of Acyuta, and looking at the sun, and in case of physical contact with them the expiation consists of all these acts as well as bath (chap. 25, fol. 42a b). So, the ideal society aimed at by the Visnudharma is Brāhmanical. According to this work a 'worthy son' (sat-putra) is one who is devoted to the gods and Brahmins, knows the Śāstras, and attains Nirvāna (chap 30), and as regards feeding of Brahmins in a Śrāddha ceremony it does not favour any discrimination between them but says that the squint-eyed, hunchbacked, poor, diseased and similar other Brahmins are to be mixed up with those who are versed in the Veda.¹¹⁷

As to the position of females in society the opinion expressed by the Visnudharma is not always very encouraging. According to this work, women, as creatures, are inferior even to the Sūdras, for it says that by practising Yoga a female can become a Brahmin by passing successively through the states of Sūdras and others in her different births (chap. 98). It prescribes Vratas and worships to females but says that in undertaking these a virgin girl must seek the permission of her parents, and a married woman, of her husband. "A wife has no separate sacrifice, Śrāddha or fast. She attains her desires merely by serving her husband."¹¹⁸ In case her husband forsakes her, or dies, or, turning a heretic (pāsanda), does not allow her to worship Visnu, she is to worship her husband and remain faithful to him in body and mind.¹¹⁹ If she is a widow, she should remain chaste, give

¹¹⁶ See chaps. 3 (fol 11b), 4 (fol 16a), 5 (fol. 17a), 7 (fol 20a), 8 (fol 22b), 14 (fol. 26b), 15 (fol 27b), 22 (fol. 36b), 73 (fol. 153a), and especially 25

¹¹⁷ na brāhmanam parikseta śrāddha-kāle hy upasthite/
sumahān parivādo hi brāhmanānām pariksane//
kānāḥ kubjāś ca sandhāś ca daridrā vyādhitās tathā/
sarve śrāddhe niyuktavyā miśritā veda-pāragatā//

Chap. 52 (fol. 97a)

¹¹⁸ naiva tasyāḥ prethag yajñī na śrāddham nāpy upositam/
bhartr-śuśrūsanenaiva prāpnoti stri yathepsitam//

Chap. 22 (fols. 35b-36a).

¹¹⁹ Chap. 22 (fol. 36b).

libation of water to her deceased husband, worship Viṣṇu daily by observing fast, receive guests, perform the Agnihotra rites without Mantra (agnihotram amantrakam), make gifts, and do other pious acts (chap. 22).

From what has been said above it is evident that the present Viṣṇudharma is an interesting work and has to be valued for its religious matters and more particularly for its philosophical views.¹²⁰ It seems to be a compilation rather than an original work, and it is probable that it derived chapters and verses from more ancient works of the same type. Chap. 152 of the Bhaviṣyottara (i. e. Bhav. IV), which agrees remarkably with chap. 86 of the Viṣṇudharma, is said in verse 5 to have been 'spoken out in ancient times by the Vārāha' (vārāhena purā proktām). Moreover, in some chapters of the Viṣṇudharma the deity has been named much more frequently as Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu than as Kṛṣṇa, while in others the name 'Kṛṣṇa' or 'Vasudeva' is very common. From the facts that in chap. 1 of the Viṣṇudharma Śatānīka wants to hear 'discourses on Nārāyaṇa' (nārāyaṇa-kathā), that in the first two chapters of this work the name 'Kṛṣṇa' occurs very rarely, and that the Viṣṇudharmottara, which, as we shall see below, was written by the Pāñcarātras, claims to be a part of the Viṣṇudharma, it appears that in its origin the Viṣṇudharma also was a Pāñcarātra work but was later on appropriated and recast by the Bhāgavatas to its present form and character.

The text of the Viṣṇudharma, that we find now in Mss, does not agree completely with those used by the commentators and Nibandha-writers. A very large number of verses ascribed to the 'Viṣṇudharma' in these works is not found in the present text of this work. For instance, none of the numerous verses of the 'Viṣṇudharma' quoted in Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, Govindānanda Kavikaṇkaṇācārya's Śrāddha-kaumudī, Śuddhi-kaumudī and Varsa-kaumudī, Madanapāla's Madana-pārijāta, and Madhavācārya's Kālanimaya, occurs in the present Viṣṇudharma; of the 103 metrical lines quoted from this work in Gopālabhaṭṭa's Haribhaktivilāsa, only 37 are traceable in the present text of the same; and among the verses ascribed to the 'Viṣṇudharma'

120 See especially chaps. 2, 42, 79-80, 95-100, and 102-3.

in Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the number of those which are not traceable in the present Viṣṇudharma, is considerable.¹²¹ This large proportion of the untraceable verses indicates that a more extensive text of the Viṣṇudharma was once current in some parts of India.

As to the provenance of the present Viṣṇudharma it is very difficult to say anything definitely. From the facts that of the holy places named in chap. 36 almost all belong to Northern India, and a large number to its western part, and that the small river Devikā has been mentioned on two occasions (in chaps. 32 and 36) and considered as much sacred as the Gangā, Yamunā etc., it appears that the Viṣṇudharma was written in the north-western part of Northern India.

2 THE VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARA¹²²

This work, as we have it now, is an encyclopaedic work consisting of three Khandas and dealing not only with various stories, myths and legends but also with varied subjects, viz, cosmology and cosmogony, geography, astronomy and astrology, division of time, pacification of unfavourable planets and stars, omens and portents, genealogies

121 A list of these untraceable verses will be given in Appendix II in the final Volume of the present work

122 The only printed edition of this work is that published by the Venkat. press, Bombay.

Being based on highly insufficient Ms material, this edition contains various defects, some of which are as follows. —

- (a) Besides printing mistakes, it has lacunae in a large number of places
- (b) One complete metrical line after Viṣṇudh I. 81 4a is missing.
- (c) In Viṣṇudh I. 146 the description of the characteristics of bulls (vṛṣa-laksana) is begun abruptly (from verse 41b) with the second half of a verse in which the description of bulls called 'samudra' (ṛṣabhah samudrākhyah) was given. The missing verses of this incomplete chapter are to be found in Mat. 207
- (d) A few lines after Viṣṇudh I. 175 1 appear to be missing.
- (e) Viṣṇudh I, chaps. 223 and 225 are incomplete, and chap 224 is wanting

It may be mentioned here that H. P. Shastri also found chaps. 223 and 224 incomplete (trayaviṃśa-caturviṃśādhyāyau khanditau) in the Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara described by him in his Notices, II, pp. 164-172.

(mainly of kings and sages), manners and customs, penances, results of actions, rules about *vrata* and *śrāddha*, description and praise of various kinds of donations, law and politics, science of war, anatomy, medicine, treatment of diseases of human beings and lower animals, cookery, manufacture of perfumes, horticulture, grammar, lexicography,

(f) Though in *Viṣṇudh. I* 226. 63b-64a Nāḍāyana proposes to mention the names of the 'thirty-two' Mātṛs created by Narasimha from his own body, he practically names twenty-four Mātṛs only. Hence a complete verse after *Viṣṇudh. I* 226. 66a must have been lost. This verse occurs in the *Matsya-p* (179. 69b-70a).

(g) One complete chapter on *āhīrbudhnya snāna* is wanting. This chapter is referred to in *Viṣṇudh. II* 99. 81b (*āhīrbudhnyam tathā snānam godam uktaṃ purā tava*) and is found quoted, in its entirety, in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II. ii. pp. 654-5.

For Mss of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, see

(i) Shastri, *Notices*, II, pp. 164-172 (No. 190 — In this Ms, the work is divided into three Kāṇḍas, of which the first two have exactly the same contents as those of the first two Khandas of the printed *Viṣṇudharmottara*, but the last Kāṇḍa ends abruptly with chap. 120 of the third Khandas of the printed edition. Hence this Ms does not contain the complete text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*).

(ii) Benares Sans College Cat., pp. 305, 308 and 326.

(iii) Stein, *Jammu Cat*, p. 214. (This Ms has been described as follows *kāṇḍa trūṭa-patrāṇi vibhāya sampūrṇam/ navinā kāśmīrikā lipīḥ*).

(iv) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 150. (This Ms claims to be a part of the *Garuḍa-p*).

(v) Bühler, *Report*, pp. vi-vii.

(vi) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 4669 (This is an incomplete Ms of the third 'Kāṇḍa' of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. It consists of fols 8-259, 261 and two more without number. Of its first seven folios, two are missing and the rest are mutilated. The arrangement of its chapters does not, in all cases, agree with that of the printed edition. It ends with a part of chap 329 of the third Khandas of the printed edition).

(vii) List of Sans, Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 92.

(viii) In his essay on the *Viṣṇudharmottara* published in *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 381-410, Bühler says that he used Mss Nos 89-91 of the Deccan College Collection of 1875-77. According to Bühler's description, the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, as preserved in these Mss, consists of three Kāṇḍas, of which the first two appear to have the same contents as those of the first two Khandas of the printed edition, but the third 'is much shorter than

metrics, rhetorics, dramaturgy, dancing, vocal and instrumental music, sculpture, painting, architecture, Vaisnava theology, and so on. As, due to want of space, it is not possible to give a complete summary of the contents of all its chapters, we note below the different topics dealt with in it, with the mention of some of the most striking points.

Khanda I.

Chap. 1.—Vajra's¹²³ request to some sages to speak on various kinds of 'Visnu-dharma' or 'Vaisnava dharma' (duties to Visnu), and the latter's selection of Mārkaṇḍeya to do so. Mārkaṇḍeya's consent to comply with Vajra's request.

the other two and contains only 118 Adhyāyas' (See Ind Ant, Vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 382-3)

(ix) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. 1 pp. 1437-41, Nos 2111-18 (All these Mss are incomplete, the first three consisting of 27 chapters each No. 2111 is written in Nandī-nāgarī and has the colophon. śrī-garuda-purāṇe visnudharmottare prathamā 'dhyāyah)

(x) There is yet another Ms of the Visnudharmottara in Bhau Dāji's Collection in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay) This Ms is written in Devanāgarī and was copied in Vikrama era 1925.

For Mss of Stotras, Vrata-kathās etc, claiming to belong to the Visnudharmottara, see

- (i) Eggeling, Ind Off Cat., VI, p 1309, No 3605 (Aparājītā-stotra)
- (ii) Keith, Ind Off Cat, II 1, pp. 912 and 913 (Aparājītā-stotra), II 11 p 1014 (Dvārakā-māhātmya)
- (iii) Shastri, ASB Cat, V, pp 765-9, Nos 4101-4 (Aparājītā stotra, Vyādhi-prāśanānāpāmārjanaka, and Apāmārjana-stotra), and p 841 (extracts belonging to the Visnudharmottara).
- (iv) Mitra, Notices, II, p 16, No 550 (Dharmaghata-vrata-kathā)
- (v) Chakravarti, Vangīya Sāhitya Parisat Cat, p. 115 (Trailokya-vijayā-parājītā-stotra and Śiva-rātri-vrata-kathā).
- (vi) Stein, Jammu Cat, p 214 (Aparājītā-stotra)
- (vii) P P S Sastri, Tanjore Cat, XV, pp 7173-74, Nos. 10578-81
- (viii) Dacca Univ Mss of the Vamśa-kavaca, Aparājītā-stotra, Svapnā-dhyāya, and Apāmārjana-vidhi.
- (ix) Weber, Berlin Cat., No. 1162 (Apāmārjana-stotra)

And so on.

¹²³ King Vajra was the son of Aniruddha and the great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa,

Chaps. 2-3.—Description of the origin of the universe as well as of Brahmā, Rudra and others from Nārāyaṇa. Account of Viṣṇu's raising of the earth by assuming the form of a Boar.

Chaps. 4-5.—Description of the nether worlds (viz., Pātāla, Surala etc.) and the different regions (viz., Varāha-loka, Kālāgnirudra-loka, Viṣṇu-loka, *bhūrloka*, *bhūvarloka* etc.), in which Viṣṇu remains with Lakṣmī by assuming different forms.

In chap. 4, verses 1-4 there is a description of the different measurements of space, viz., *trasareṇu*, *likṣā*, *rāja-sarṣapa*, *gaura-sarṣapa*, *sarṣapa*, *yava*, *aṅguli*, *śaṅku*, *hasta*, *dhanuḥ*, *krośa*, *gavyūti* and *yojana*.

Chaps. 6-11.—Geography of the earth.—Names and description of its *dvīpas*. Names of its mountains, oceans etc. Position of mount Meru, and the names of the cities (of Indra, Vahni, Yama, Varuna and others) situated round it. Description of Jambu-dvīpa, with the mention of the names of its *varsas*, mountains etc. Description of Bhārata-varṣa¹²⁴ (including Lankā)¹²⁵—the names of the tribes living in its central, eastern, south-eastern, southern, south-western, western, north-western, northern and north-eastern parts;¹²⁶ the names of its

124 Viṣṇudh. I. 6. 16-18

125 Ibid., I. 8. 9—

lavaṇasyottare pārśve sāgarasya ca daksine /
puraṁ lankā samnivistā yasyāṇi vai rāvano hatah //

126 Viṣṇudh. I. 9. 2-10—

pāñcālāḥ kurav o matsyā yaudheyāḥ savatāscarāḥ /
kuntayāḥ śūrasenās ca madhyadeśa-janāḥ smrtāḥ //
vṛṣadhvajāñjanāḥ puṁnāḥ suhṛd nāgadhācedayāḥ /
kāśyapā ca vidhāś ca pūrvasyām kośalās tathā //
kalīṅga-vāṅga-puṇḍrāṅga-vaidarbhiḥ mūlakaś tathā /
vindhyaṁta-nīlayāḥ proktāḥ pūrvā-dakṣiṇatāḥ smrtāḥ //
pulindāśmaka-jimūta-nararāstra-nivāsinaḥ /
karnātakā bhojakatā dakṣiṇāpatā-vāsinaḥ //
ambasthā draviḍā nāgāḥ kāmbojāḥ strimukhāḥ śakāḥ /
ānantavāsinaś caiva jñeyā dakṣiṇa-pāścime //
strī-rājyaṁ saṁdhyā mlecchā nāstikyā javanās tathā /
pāścimena ca vijñeyāḥ patumānausadhāḥ saha //
māṇḍavyās ca tusrās ca mūlikās ca mukhāḥ khaśāḥ /
mahākṣā mahānāsā deśās tūttara-pāścime //

seven principal mountains (*kula-parvata*) as well as of the principal rivers arising from them; the names of those chief rivers¹²⁷ which arose from the Himālaya and are regarded as specially sacred

Chaps. 12-22 —Description of Kośala and Ayodhyā.

Names and accounts of the kings of the Solar dynasty from Ikṣvāku (son of Vaivasvata Manu) downwards

Story of Sagara, whose sons were burnt to ashes by Kapila, a form of Vāsudeva. Story of Bhagīratha's bringing Gangā¹²⁸ down to earth.

lampagās tālanāgās ca maru gāndhārajāhutāh/
 himavan-nīlayā mleccā hy udicim dīśam āśritāh//
 trigarta-mīna-kaulūtā brahmaputrāh satīganāh/
 abhisārās ca kāśmīrās codak-pūrvēna kīrtitāh//

127 The names of these rivers are as follows —Kauśīkī, Gandakī, Lohitya, Drsadvatī, Menā, Bāhudā, Mahānadī, Gomatī, Devikā, Vitastā, Candrabhāgā, Saravū, Irāvati, Vipāśā, Śatadru, Yamunā and Sarasvatī

Of these rivers, the Kauśīkī is said to be the beloved of Kauśika and is described as 'nimnagottamā', 'gajendra-bhinna-kūlā', and 'gangā-tulyā ca punyatah'; the Bāhudā is said to have restored the severed arm of the sage Likhita, the Devikā is identified with the beloved wife of Śamkara, the Vitastā is called 'visnu-loka-pradā' and 'agha-nāśinī', the Candrabhāgā is described as 'candra-loka pradā', the Irāvati is called 'indrebha-sevita-tatā' and 'indra loka-pradāyini', the Vipāśā is said to be 'viśīsta-pāśa-vicchede kuśalā', and the Śatadru is described as 'sarva-pāpānām vipākakārini' and 'vaśīstha-vidrutā'

For description of all the above-mentioned rivers see Visnuddi I. 11 2-21. In this description, the Sarasvatī is called 'sapta-prakārā' and is said to consist of seven parts known by seven names, viz, Suprabhā (at Puskara), Kātarāksī (at Naimisa), Viśālā (at Gayā), Mānasa-hradā (at Kośala), Sarasvatī (at Kuruksetra), Ogha-nādā (at Gangā-dvāra), and Suvēnu (on the Himācala)

It is to be noted that in these verses the word 'devī' has been used with respect to the following rivers — Devikā, Vitastā, Irāvati, Śatadru and Sarasvatī

128 In chap. 19, verses 18ff it is said that Gangā, being let out from Śiva's matted hair, first entered the Bindu-saras (which had been created by the drops of water of Gangā) and then divided herself into seven streams, of which three (viz, Hlādinī, Hrādinī and Plāvinī) flowed towards the east, three (viz, Sītā, Vaktra and Sindhu) rushed towards the west, and one (viz. Gangā) flowed towards the south by following the track shown by Bhagīratha

Digressions:—

(i) Viṣṇu's killing of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who had originated from a drop of Brahmā's perspiration.—Chap. 15.

(ii) Story of Kuvalayāśva, who was named Dhundhumāra for killing the aquatic demon Dhundhu (son of Madhu and Kaiṭabha) with the help of sage Utaṅka —Chap. 16

(iii) Story of Jahnu, king of Kānyakubja, who drank up Gaṅgā, because the latter flooded his sacrificial hall in which preparations were made for the performance of a horse-sacrifice. Jahnu's letting Gaṅgā out through his ear.—Chap. 20.

(iv) Story of Vāmana (Trivikrama), who chastised Bāskali and ushered Gaṅgā into the world. Presence of Gaṅgā in different places in different names and forms.¹²⁹

Chaps. 23-71.—Story of Viṣṇu's birth as Bhārgava Rāma, his attainment of Kṣatriya characteristics, and his performance of various exploits, viz., his extermination of the Saṃhikeyas as well as of the demons living in the nether world, and his killing of the Kṣatriyas including Kārtavīryārjuna.

Stories of Nahusa's change into a snake; Indra's residence in a lotus-stalk in the Mānasa lake for getting rid of Brahma-hatyā arising from Vṛtra-vadha; Viṣṇu's manifestation as Dattātreya; Vasistha's curse on Kārtavīryārjuna for burning his forest for pleasing Āditya, birth of Viśvāmitra, and the cause of his turning a Brahmin, Sūrya's offer of an umbrella and a pair of shoes to Renukā, wife of Jamadagni, churning of the ocean by gods and demons; Viṣṇu's beheading of Rāhu; and Bhārgava Rāma's meeting with Varuṇa in the latter's residence.

In connection with these stories, portents (utpāta) have been dealt with in chap. 37, bad dreams (duḥsvapna) in chap. 39, and evil omens (durnimitta) in chap. 46.

Chaps. 52-65 constitute a separate section called 'Samkara-gītā,' in which Śamkara, being requested by Bhārgava Rāma, glorifies Nārā-

¹²⁹ Gaṅgā is said to sanctify the Daradas, Jahudas, Kāśmīras, Nairasas, Ābhīras, Kalāpa-grāmakas, Tāmra'iptakas, Vangas, Pundras and others.—Chap. 21, verses 17-24

yaṇa (i.e. Viṣṇu) as Para Brahma and the source of the universe, admits that he himself meditates on Nārāyaṇa, and then speaks on the following topics:—Viṣṇu's manifestation as Varāha, Narasimha and Vāmana; Viṣṇu's various vibhūti; praise of devotion (bhakti) to Viṣṇu; enumeration of actions¹³⁰ which please Keśava, results of worshipping Viṣṇu by observing fast on the different days (from Sunday to Saturday) of the week, on different Tithis (from Pratipad to Pañcadaśī) and under different Naksatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī; worship of Viṣṇu with the due observance of 'pañca-kāla,' viz., abhigamana-kāla, upādāna-kāla, 1jyā-kāla, svādhyāya-kāla and yoga-kāla.¹³¹

Chaps. 72-73.—Varuna's speech to Bhārgava Rāma on the following topics:—Division of time according to *saura*, *cāndra*, *sāvana* and *nāksatra* māna; measurement of time—duration of a nimeṣa, truti, prāṇa, vinādikā, nādikā, muhūrta, ahorātra, pakṣa, māsa, *ayana*, samvatsara, *yuga*, *kalpa* etc.; duration of the day and night of the Pitr̥s, longevity of Brahmā; condition of *dharma* etc. during the four *yugas*, especially in the Kali-yuga.

Chap. 74.—Condition of Bhārata-varṣa at the end of each *yuga*; and Viṣṇu's appearance in human forms (such as those of Pramati, Bhīmaratha, Vāsudeva-and-Arjuna, and Kalkin) for relieving the earth of her burden.

This chapter gives us information regarding the literary activity of Vālmīki and Vyāsa at the ends of Tretā and Dvāpara respectively. It is said that at the end of the Dvāpara-yuga Viṣṇu would be born as Vyāsa, divide the original Veda into four, viz., Ṛg-veda, Sāma-veda, Ātharvaṇa and Yajur-veda, and write Vākovākya, Purāna and Bhārata, and that at the end of the Tretā-yuga Viṣṇu would be born as Vālmīki and write the 'Rāmākhyāna'. (See verses 22ff.).

Chaps. 75-77.—Condition of the world at the ends of Manvantaras, Kalpas and Mahākalpas.

Chaps. 78-79.—Entrance of Mārkaṇḍeya and Brahmā into the

¹³⁰ Such as non-giving of Viṣṇu-naivedya or Viṣṇu-nirmālya to non-Vaisnavas; showing respect to all deities and faiths; honouring the Pāñcarātras, and so on.—Chap. 58

¹³¹ For details see chaps. 61-65,

body of Viṣṇu, and their experience at the close of a Manvantara and a Kalpa respectively.

Chap. 80.—Measurement of time beginning from the origin of Brahmā. Duration of the periods of reign of Vajra and Parīkṣit.

Chap. 81.—Names of fourteen Manus. Difference between the Manvantaras and Kalpas.

Chaps. 82-105.—On astrology and astronomy.—Different kinds of years, and their characteristics and results; names of deities dominating the different seasons, months, planets, stars, *tithis* and *muḥūrtas*; names and description of *karaṇas* (viz., *bava*, *bālava*, *kaṇḍava* etc.), and the names of their presiding deities; description of *horā*, *kulśka-velā* and *lagna*; nature of the influence of planets and stars on different countries under different circumstances; long and detailed description of the method of performing *graha-yajña* (which consists of *prāk-tantra* and *uttara-tantra*); relative position of the planets and stars.

Chap. 106.—Stories of the birth of Dhruva and the different Planets.¹³²

Chap. 107.—Brahmā's creation of gods, demons, sages, Pitr̥s and others, as well as of planets, birds, snakes etc.

Dakṣa's descendants (including Satī, who is said to have forsaken her body and been reborn as Umā).

Chaps. 108-109.—Dhruva's descendants including Vena¹³³ and Pṛthu, whose stories have been given at length. Dakṣa's rebirth as the son of Pracetas, and his creation by sexual intercourse.

Chaps. 110-118.—Descendants of Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Parāśara and other sages. Origin of *gotras* and *pravaras*. Restriction as regards marriage among them.

Digression:—Story of Nimi and Vasiṣṭha's mutual curse, and the latter's birth as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa.—Chap. 117.

Chaps. 119-121.—Descendants of Dharma and Kaśyapa.

¹³² For the peculiar stories of the birth of Bhauma, Budha and Śukra, see verses 34-51 and 54-60.

¹³³ Following the Lokāyatikas Vena says:—

yāvaj-jivam sukham jiven nāsti mrtyor agocaram/
bhasmibhūtasya śāntasya punar āgamanam kutah//

Viṣṇudh. I. 108. 18-19

Chaps. 122-8.—Story of Kṛṣṇa's killing of Kālanemi. Viṣṇu's manifestation as Varāha. Birth of Maruts. Creation of Apsarases, viz., Tilottamā, Abalyā, Urvaśī and others.

Chaps. 129-137.—Story of Purūravas and Urvaśī.—The latter's origin from Nārāyaṇa's thighs; Tumburu's curse on her; her love for and residence with Purūravas (of Pratiṣṭhāna)¹³⁴ on certain conditions; Urvaśī's departure, and Purūravas's vain enquiry for her to beasts and birds; Nārada's request to Urvaśī to pass one night with the king; Urvaśī's meeting with Purūravas in a lake in Kuruksetra; and so on.

[Though based on its Vedic and Purāṇic versions, this story has innovations and betrays the influence of Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya.]

Cause and praise of performing *śrāddha* on the Amāvāsyā Tithi. (Chap. 137, verses 29ff.).

Chap. 138.—Names and classification of Pitr̥s; and the effect of offering *śrāddha* to them.

Chap. 139.—The custom of offering *śrāddha*—first introduced on the Varāha-parvata by Viṣṇu in the form of Varāha in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.

Chaps. 140-144.—Performance of *śrāddha*.—Detailed description of its procedure; persons entitled to offer *śrāddha* under different circumstances; selection of proper place;¹³⁵ different kinds of articles (including meat of particular animals) to be offered to the Pitr̥s; proper time and occasions for the performance of *śrāddha*; persons (viz., vārdhuṣika, cikitsaka and others) who do not deserve to be invited in *śrāddha* ceremonies; persons¹³⁶ who are 'pankti-pāvana'; results of

134 For mention of Pratiṣṭhāna see Viṣṇudh I, 130. 21, 131 12; and 135.15

135 triśanku varjayed deśam sarvam dvādaśa-yojanam/
uttarena patangasya daksinena ca kaikatam//
deśas triśankavo nāma vivarjyah śrāddha-karmani/
kāraskarāḥ kalingāś ca sindhor uttaram eva ca//
cāturvarṇya-vihīnāś ca ye ca deśā narādhipa/
anyesv api ca deśesu tad-deśa-jana-darśanam//

Viṣṇudh, I. 141. 2-4.

136 Such as those who have studied any of the four Vedas, Dharmaśāstras, Purāṇas, Itihāsa, 'sottara Viṣṇudharma', or grammar; those who know Jyotiṣa

performing *śrāddha* at selected places (viz., Gayā, Puskara, Prayāga, Naimiṣa, Vārāṇasī, Prabhāsa and Kurukṣetra; banks of the Gangā, Yamunā and Narmadā; mountains such as Amatāntika-parvata, Varāha-paravata and Himavat; and so on).

Chap. 145.—*Pitr-gāthās*. Method of observing the *Aśūnya-śayana-dvitiyā* (as described by Pulastya to Dālbhya).

Chap. 146.—Ways of release from rebirths. Characteristics of bulls (*vr̥ṣa-lakṣaṇī*) as mentioned by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira.

[This chapter refers to the contents of the *Sānti* and *Anuśāsana* Parvans of the *Mahābhārata*, and to the *Dharmaśāstras* of Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, Atri, Śaṅkha, Gārgya, Likhita, Yama, Jāvali and many others.]

Chap. 147.—Procedure and praise of dedication of bulls (*vr̥ṣotsarga*) to the *Pitrs*.

Chaps. 148-156.—Purūravas's penance and worship of Viṣṇu on the *Dvādaśī* Tithi in the Himālaya in his previous birth as a king of Madra, his performance of the *Rūpa-satra-vrata* according to the method described by Atri, and his consequent attainment of uncommon physical beauty through Viṣṇu's favour.

Chaps. 157-161.—Description of various kinds of *Dvādaśī-vratas*, viz., *Rājya-prada-dvādaśī-vrata*, *Kāma-dvādaśī-vrata*, *Sukla-pakṣa-dvādaśī-vrata*, and *Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata* (in all of which Viṣṇu is to be worshipped.)

Chap. 162.—Praise of the *Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata* by means of a story of a merchant who strayed into a forest in *Dāśaraka* and met a group of spirits (*preta*), one of whom told him that he had been a merchant of *Śākala* and that, as a result of his observance of the *Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata* and giving food to Brahmins on this occasion at the confluence of the rivers *Tauṣī* and *Candrabhāgā*, he used to have a regular supply of food and water even after his death.

In this chapter, the *Candrabhāgā* is described as a part of the

or *Āyurveda* but do not earn their livelihood with these; and so on.—Chap. 143, verses 12-19.

Gangā,¹³⁷ and the Tausī is called 'arka-nandini' (daughter of the Sun),¹³⁸ and the meeting places of the following rivers are said to be highly sacred —(a) Gaṅgā and Sarayū, (b) Gaṅgā and Śona, (c) Gaṅgā and Ikṣumatī, (d) Gangā and Yamunā, (e) Gomatī and Sarayū, (f) Kauśikī and Gaṇḍakī, (g) Vipāśā and Devahrādā, (h) Vipāśā and Śatadru, (i) Sindhu and Irāvati, (j) Candrabhāgā and Vitastā, and (k) Sindhu and Vitastā.—Verses 61-65.

Chaps. 163-164.—Description of the Tila-dvādaśī-vrata (which is Vaiṣṇava).

Praise of this Vrata by means of the story of Nayanāsundarī, wife of king Candavega of Magadha, who, in her previous birth in a country watered by the river Vitastā, performed the Tila-dvādaśī-vrata on the bank of this river and consequently attained royalty.

In Chap. 164, verses 23-26 the Vitastā has been praised as a highly sacred river and identified with Umā, the beloved wife of Hara.

Chap. 165.—Method and praise of muttering the Gāyatrī, and the cause and efficacy of its use in various kinds of Vaiṣṇava *homa* (viz., lakṣa-homa, koṭi-homa etc.) and in *abbicāra*.

[For the method of using Gāyatrī in *abbicāra* and the restrictions under which it is to be employed for this purpose, see verses 55-67.]

Chaps. 166-7 —The method and result of *dīpa-dāna* in Viṣṇu-temples and other places. (The use of animal-fat and of blue or red wicks in lamps is strictly prohibited.—Verses 31 and 35).

Story of Lalitīkā (or Lalitā), daughter of king Citrarathā of Vīdarbha and wife of the king of Kāśī, who always kept herself engaged in *dīpa-dāna* and who, in her previous birth as a female mouse, chanced to cause an extinguishing lamp to continue to burn in a Viṣṇu-temple constructed by Māitreya (the Brahmin minister of the king of Sauvīra) at Nṛsiṃha-tīrtha on the bank of the river

137-138 candrabhāgā saric-chresthā yatra sītāmalodakā/
mahādeva-jatājūte gangā nīpatitā purā//
candrena bhāgato nyastā candrabhāgā smrtā tatah/
tat-kāla-tapta-salilā tausī tatrārka-nandini//

Devikā in Madra and was consequently born and married in royal families.

In chap. 167, verses 15-18 it is said that, for the good of mankind, Brahmīns caused Umā, wife of Hara, to come down to the earth in the form of the river Devikā.

Chap. 168.—Praise of Viṣṇu-worship with wild flowers, fruits etc. by poor people.

Chaps. 169-170.—Results of sweeping a Viṣṇu-temple and besmearing it with cow-dung.

Story of a destitute Sūdra and his wife, who felt a strong desire for royal fortune at the sight of Citravāhana, king of Sauvīra, and were reborn as Māndhātṛ (son of Yuvanāśva and king of Ayodhyā) and Prabhāvatī (daughter of Bhīmavega, king of Kāśī) respectively as a result of besmearing, with cow-dung, a Viṣṇu-temple which was situated on the bank of the Sindhu and in which an image of Varāha was established by sages of old. Māndhātṛ's conquest of the world, and his devotion to Viṣṇu.

[The river Sindhu has been praised in chap. 170, verses 4ff.].

Chaps. 171-172.—Being questioned by Vajra as to how this Māndhātṛ could be killed by Lavaṇa with the śūla of Maheśvara, Mārkaṇḍeya says that such an incident became possible simply because the energy of Viṣṇu (*vaiṣṇavam tejah*) resorted to the tip of Śiva's śūla.

Mārkaṇḍeya's description and praise of 'vaiṣṇava-tejas', without which, Mārkaṇḍeya says, even Brahmā and Śiva cannot live and which cannot be comprehended without *bhakti*. Mārkaṇḍeya adds that it is Viṣṇu who is the single eternal Being (*avināśi tad evaikam*) known by different names such as Sadāśiva, Vāsudeva, Kāla, Daiva, Svabhāva, Puruṣa, Praṇava etc. and who, though himself eternal, formless, omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, manifests himself as Varāha etc. for accomplishing various objects but is not bound by his actions.

Description of kings of the Tretā-yuga.—It is said that these kings could cleanse their faces with their own tongues; each of them had 68 teeth and possessed seven gems (*sapta ratnāni*), viz., *hasti-ratna*, *aśva-ratna*, *ratha-ratna*, *bhāryā-ratna*, *āyudha-ratna*, *maṇi-ratna* and *nidhi-ratna*; their movement was not obstructed in the nether world,

the sky, the mountains and the sea; and so on.—Chap. 172, verses 37-46.

Chaps. 173-174.—Description of the Ananta-vrata (by performing which Yuvanāśva and Kṛtavīrya had Māndhātṛ and Kārtavīryārjuna respectively as sons) and Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata (in which Viṣṇu is to be worshipped for one year from Kārttika).

[In chaps. 175-191 Mārkaṇḍeya reports, in connection with Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata, what Śāmbharāyanī said to Indra.]

Chaps. 175-189.—Accounts of the past, present and future Manvantaras, with the mention of Viṣṇu's killing of the foes of the respective Indras during these Manvantaras by assuming different forms such as those of Matsya, Kūrma, Hamsa, Aśva, Nṛ-varāha, Mayūra etc.

Chap. 190 —Eternity of Viṣṇu; and his innumerable manifestations in different Manvantaras, viz., Varāha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Narasimha, Matsya, Kūrma, Hamsa, Nṛ-varāha, Rāma (Bhārgava), Rāma, Māndhātṛ, Pṛthu, Kārtavīryārjuna and others.

Chap. 191.—Śāmbharāyanī's statement that it was by observing the Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata that she was able to attain such an extremely long life and residence in heaven.

Chaps. 192-194.—Praise of Viṣṇu-stuti.

Story of the transformation of the Gandharvas Hāhā and Hūhū into an elephant and a crocodile respectively as a result of Devala's curse, because these Gandharvas disrespected Devala by taking him to be ignorant of music.

Fight between the elephant and the crocodile; and the former's eulogy of Viṣṇu, who consequently saved the elephant by killing the crocodile and restored both the animals to their former states.

[This story is called 'gajendra-mokṣaṇa'. In chap. 194, verses 58 ff. Gaṅgā, Naimiṣāranya, Prayāga, Brahma-tīrtha and Daṇḍakāranya have been praised.]

Chap. 195.—Method of self-protection by means of the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra, which Brahmā discovered for Śaṅkara's safety when the latter destroyed Tripura.

Chap. 196.—Protection of others from various kinds of diseases

and calamities by means of the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra and other Vaiṣṇava *stotras* and *mantras* (especially those of Narasimha).

Chaps. 197-198.—Origin of Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Piśācas and Yātudhānas; and the names of their descendants (including Heti, Praheti, Rāvaṇa, Puloman and others).

Chap. 199.—Story of the birth of Cyavana and his reducing Puloman to ashes with an angry glance when Cyavana's mother Pulomā was being abducted by this Rākṣasa.

Chap. 200.—Birth of the Rākṣasa named Lavaṇa, and his death at the hand of Śatrughna.

Chaps. 201-269.—Rāma's order to Bharata to chastise the impious (adharma-nirata) Gandharvas living on both banks of the Sindhu; and Bharata's consequent march against, and killing of, these Gandharvas including Śailūṣa, and sending the rest to the Himālaya.

Bharata's march against the Gandharvas has been described elaborately in chaps. 202-209.

According to chap. 203 Rāma sent with Bharata a retinue consisting of actors, musicians, dancing girls, public women, merchants (or contractors), poison-doctors, physicians, surgeons.¹³⁹ dentists (dantakārāḥ, dantopajīvinah), engineers, weavers, leather-workers, fishermen, tailors, scribes, astrologers, manufacturers of weapons, washermen, painters etc.¹⁴⁰

During his march Bharata is said to have seen the following rivers and places:—Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sannīti (a holy place in Kurukṣetra), Amaraṇṭaka, Śatadru (also called Gaurī), Vipāśā, Irāvati, Devikā, Candrabhāgā, Vitastā, Sudāmā (a river) and Rājagṛha (capital of Kekaya).—Chaps. 206-207.

In chap. 207 the holy place Sannīti and the rivers Yamunā, Śatadru, Vipāśā, Irāvati, Devikā, Candrabhāgā and Vitastā have been specially glorified as being highly sacred; regarding Sannīti it has been said that here Dadhīca called together all the holy places and rivers on earth before giving up his life for the sake of Indra and that thence-

139 viṣa-vaidyāḥ śalya-vaidyās tathā kāya-cikitsakāḥ//

—Chap. 203, verse 9a.

140 This list seems to have been influenced by Rāmāyaṇa II 83 12ff

forward all the gods and tīrthas used to visit this place every month; the reasons for the names 'Śatadru' and 'Vipāśā' have been stated; and the rivers Śatadru and Devikā have been identified with Umā, the beloved wife of Hara.

Chap. 208 contains description of the hurry and eagerness of women of Rājagṛha to see Bharata when he was entering the city.

In chaps. 212-247 Nāḍāyana advises Śailūsa not to declare war against Bharata but to repair peacefully to the Himālaya, and relates the following stories:—

(1) Agastya's drinking of the waters of the ocean for helping Indra to kill the demons who had taken shelter in it after Vṛtra's death; his lowering of the Vindhya which had covered the paths of the sun and the moon; his killing of Vātāpin by thoroughly digesting him; and his furnishing the bows of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with 'invincible 'vaiṣṇava-tejas.'—Chap. 213.

(2) Viṣṇu's war with and killing of the demon Mālin of Laṅkā, —a story which had been narrated to Rāma by Agastya.—Chaps. 214-215.

The following rivers are said to have joined Viṣṇu in his march against Mālin:—Gangā, Kālindī, Sarayū, Gomatī, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Śatadru, Vipāśā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvātī, Sindhu, Vitastā, Devikā, Gaṇḍakī, Kāverī, Hiranvatī, Iksumatī, Parnāśā, Kauśikī, Vedasmṛti, Narmadā, Sītā, Hrādīnī, Pāvanī, Lauhityā, Sindhu, Cakṣu, Sītā, Gautamī, Dṛṣadvatī, and 'others.'—Chap. 215, verses 43-52.

(3) Story of Rāvaṇa and his exploits and death.—Birth of Kuvera from Devavarṇinī by Viśravas, and his residence at Laṅkā which was situated on the mountain Trikūṭa. Birth of Daśagrīva, Kumbhakarna, Vibhīṣaṇa and Śūrpaṇakhā from Kaikāsī by Viśravas, their penance at Gokarṇa, and their receipt of boons from Brahmā; Rāvaṇa's leadership of those Rāksasas who had fled to Pātāla after Mālin's death, his wresting of Laṅkā from Kuvera, and his world-conquest. Rāvaṇa's attempt to molest Vedavatī,¹⁴¹ daughter of Kuśadhīva, and the latter's entrance into fire with the threat that she would be born again as an

¹⁴¹ For the story of Vedavatī, see chap. 221, verses 17ff.

This story is based on Rāmāyana VII. 17.

'ayoniṇa' being for bringing about his destruction; birth of Vedavatī as Sītā; and the incidents in her life (including her entrance into the nether world). Rāvaṇa's taking away of the chariot called Puspaka from Kuvera, and his sad experience in Kailāsa (where he was cursed by Nandin that monkeys would bring about his destruction); his victory over the gods; his conquest of Pātāla; and his experience at Kiṣkindhyā (where there was a conflict between Bālī and Sugrīva). Rāvaṇa's meeting with Bali, the former's inability to remove one of the ear-rings which Bali inherited from Hiraṇyakaśipu, and Bali's praise of Viṣṇu who had killed Hiraṇyakaśipu; Rāvaṇa's meeting with Viṣṇu, in whose body he saw all the gods and the whole universe and who told him that he would be born as a human being and kill Rāvaṇa.—Chaps. 219-223 and 238-239.

(4) Śiva's eulogy of Vināyaka, and his burning of Tripura with an arrow, the tip of which was occupied by Viṣṇu.—Chaps. 224(?)¹⁴²-225.

(5) Śiva's killing of the demon Andhaka with the help of the Mātṛs created by himself as well as by Viṣṇu and Narasiṃha whom Śiva had eulogised for help.—Chap. 226. (This chapter contains the names of a large number of Mātṛs including Kālī and Mahākālī).

(6) Birth of Śaḍānana on the mountain Sveta; his boons to the Kṛttikās to be worshipped with himself at a time when the moon would remain with the Kṛttikās, and to Gaṅgā to be worshipped on the Vaiśākha-śukla-tṛtīyā (which is called Akṣaya-tṛtīyā); Indra's creation of a large number of highly pernicious beings called Grabhas, viz., gods, Piṭṛs, demons, Rākṣasas, evil spirits, Nāgas etc., for doing harm to Śaḍānana's life; Śaḍānana's creation of a far larger number of similar Grabhas named Skanda, Viśākha etc. to counteract the influence of those created by Indra, and his prescription of particular duties to these Grabhas; Indra's praise of Skanda and his worship; Śiva's appointment of Skanda as the general of gods; and Skanda's killing of the demon Mahiṣa and others.—Chaps. 228-230 and 233.

142 In the printed ed., chaps. 223 and 225 are incomplete and chap 224 is wanting.

(7) Nārāyaṇa's saving of Yajña from the hand of Śiva.—
Chap. 234

(8) Destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice by Vīrabhadra and Bhadrakālī born of Śiva and Pārvatī respectively, because Dakṣa refused to give to Śiva a share of the sacrificial offerings; Dakṣa's eulogy of Śiva at Bhadrakarṇeśvara according to Vīrabhadra's advice; Śiva's boon to Dakṣa.—Chap. 235.

(In this chapter the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Jāhnavī at Bhadrakarṇeśvara as well as the five holy places—'tīrthā-pañcaka', viz., Gangādvāra, Kuśāvarta, Bilvaka, Nīlaparvata and Kanakhala, have been highly praised by Śiva, Mahākālī has been eulogised and described as 'aṣṭādaśa-bhujā', 'śūla-mudgara-dhārīṇī', 'kamaṇḍalu-dharā', 'pītakaśēya-vasanā', and 'nīlotpala-dala-śyāmā', and her worship has been prescribed on the Śukla-navamī).

(9) Story of sage Śveta, who used to worship a Śiva-linga and whom Śiva saved from the hands of Yama by reducing him to ashes, because Yama refused to wait till Śveta could finish his worship of Śiva. Description of Viṣṇu-kavaca, with which Śiva protected himself against Yama.—Chaps. 236-237.

(10) Śatrughna's fight with and killing of the Rākṣasa named Lavaṇa who lived at Madhuvana.—Chaps. 240-247.

Chap. 227 contains the names of herbs, food materials etc. with which the enraged Mātṛs can be pacified.

Chaps. 231-232 deal with the following topics:—Various kinds of actions which bring people under the influence of the Grahas created by Indra and Śadānana; causes which encourage these Grahas to exert their influence;¹⁴³ symptoms of persons influenced by different kinds of Grahas; and treatment of such persons by means of herbs, *mantras* etc.

In chaps. 248-253 Nārāyaṇa further speaks to Śailūṣa on the following topics:—

Beasts and birds descended from Pulaha.—Chap. 248.

Brahmā's appointment of kings over herbs, stars, water, gods,

¹⁴³ For these causes see chap. 231, verses 12b-14a.

Yakṣas, Daityas, Dānavas, Piśācas etc.; coronation of Indra.—Chaps. 249-250.

Origin of the eight elephants named Airāvaṇa, Padma, Puṣpadanta etc. (which are called quarter-elephants—*dig-gajāḥ*), and the classification of their descendants.

Location of the eight forests in which the eight quarter-elephants live with their descendants. Characteristics of elephants living in these forests.—Chap. 251.

Monkeys descended from Pulaha.—Chap. 252.

Description of the fight between the elephants and monkeys at Antarvedī. Indra's severing of the wings of elephants and sending them down to earth to serve Lomapāda, king of Anga. Lomapāda's authorship of a Sūtra-work on medical treatment of elephants.—Chap. 253.

Chaps. 254-257.—Śailūṣa's determination to wage war against Bharata in spite of Nāḍāyana's advice to the contrary. Inability of the Gandharvas, sent by Śailūṣa, to create the least disturbance in Ayodhyā, Rājagṛha and Bharata's camp.

Description of love-lorn women in Ayodhyā.

Chaps. 258-268.—Description of the war between Bharata and Śailūṣa,—a war which resulted in the death of the latter. Description of the battle-field.

Chap. 269.—Bharata's performance of Viṣṇu's śayanōtsava and jāgaranotsava for five days each from Āṣāḍha-śuklaikādaśī and Kārttika-śuklaikādaśī respectively; his construction, for his sons Puṣkara and Takṣa, of two cities named Puskarāvatī and Takṣaśilā on both banks of the Sindhu; his return to Ayodhyā and worship of Viṣṇu.

Khaṇḍa II

[This Khaṇḍa deals with the duties of kings—rāja-dharma.]

Chap. 1.—Vajra praises Mārkaṇḍeya for narrating, with various other topics, the story of Bharata's successful war against the Gandharvas and requests him to describe what Bhārgava Rāma heard from Varuṇa after reaching the latter's region. Mārkaṇḍeya says that Rāma Jāmadagnya first heard from Varuṇa about measurement of

time and then asked him to speak on the duties of kings (*rāja-dharma*), that Varuṇa referred Bhārgava Rāma to his own son Puṣkara, who, Varuṇa said, had heard about *rāja-dharma* from Indra, and that, in compliance with Varuṇa's request, Puṣkara took Bhārgava Rāma to his own residence.

Chaps. 2-7.—Being requested by Bhārgava Rāma, Puṣkara spoke on the following topics:—

Necessity of a pious and dutiful king for the establishment of law and order in the country; various qualifications (such as submission to the opinions of ministers and the state-astrologer) that a king must possess; selection, to be made by the king's predecessors as well as by the most prominent people of the state, of a worthy member of the royal family for the throne;¹⁴⁴ the king's oath; appointment of a qualified Brahmin as state-astrologer (*sāmvatsara*)—the first duty of the king; qualifications of the state-astrologer, and the king's submission to him; selection of ministers, priest (*purohita*) and chief queen in accordance with the instructions of the state-astrologer; the king's coronation to be performed by the state-astrologer; qualifications of the Purohita (who is to be an Atharvan versed in the Yajur-veda and the Atharva-veda and to have thorough knowledge of the five *kalpas*, viz., *nakṣatra-kalpa*, *vaitāna-kalpa*, *saṃhitā-kalpa*, *aṅgirah-kalpa* and *śānti-kalpa*), necessity of Purohita for peace and prosperity of the king; qualifications of ministers, who are to be Brahmins versed in the Vedas and the Nīti-śāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas;¹⁴⁵ qualifications to be possessed by the chief queen.

Chaps. 8-9.—Auspicious signs of men and women.

Chaps. 10-11.—Characteristic signs of good and bad elephants and horses.

Chaps. 12-14.—Making of a chowry, an umbrella and a holy seat (*bhadrāsana*) for the king.

Chap. 15.—Names and characteristics of jewels to be worn by the king.

¹⁴⁴ See chap. 3, verse 8, and chap. 4, verse 1.

¹⁴⁵ See chap. 6, verse 2.

Chaps. 16-17.—Construction of bows with metals (such as gold, silver, copper and steel), horns (of buffaloes, *śarabhas* and other beasts), bamboo, wood etc. Construction of arrows, and of swords with steel of different countries, viz., Vaṅga, Śūrpāraka, Videha, Anga etc. Characteristics of swords manufactured in these countries.

Story of the origin of 'khadga' (sword) from a divine being named Nandaka and of 'loha' (steel) from the different limbs of a demon named Loha.

[In connection with the selection of materials for the construction of bows, Puṣkara says:

vaṁśānām api tac chrestam yatra gaṅgā mahānadī/
sālānām api tac chrestam gomatī yatra bhārgava/
vitastā-kūlajaṁ śreṣṭhaṁ vetasīnām tathaiva ca//

Chap. 16, verses 14-15a

The countries manufacturing the best arrows are mentioned in the following lines:—

śarāḥ kirātajāḥ śreṣṭhāḥ kāñcīpura-samīpataḥ/
tebhyo'pi te śreṣṭhatamāḥ skanda-janma-samīpataḥ//

Chap. 16, verses 20b-21a.

The following verses name the countries producing steel of different qualities for the manufacture of swords:—

lohaṁ pradhānam khadgārtne praśastam tad viśeṣataḥ/
kaṭīkadūra-ṛṣīkaṁ vange śūrpārakesu ca//
videheṣu tathāṅgeṣu madhyamaṁ grāmacediṣu/
sahagrāmeṣu nīpeṣu tathā kālañjare 'pi ca//

Chap 17, verses 21b-23a.]

Chaps. 18-23.—On coronation.—Proper time for coronation; performance of Purandara-Śānti, characteristics of fire in which *homas* are to be performed; procedure of coronation; *mantras* to be used on this occasion,—all these *mantras* being Purāṇic in character and containing invocations to the gods, goddesses (including Durgā mounted on a lion), Dik-pālas, Prajāpatīs, Pitr̥s, Mātṛs, wives of Dharmā, Kāśyapa and others, Nakṣatras, Planets, Manus, Rudras (including Dhūmaketu, Bharata and Kāpālī), Sādhyas, Ādityas, Maruts, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Daityas, Dānavas, Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, Piśācas, Suparnas and others.

[In some of the *mantras* given in chap. 22, there is mention of

(i) Ṛg-veda, Yajur-veda, Sāma-veda, Atharva-veda, Itihāsa, Dhanurveda, Gandharva-veda, Āyurveda, the six Angas (viz, śikṣā, kalpa etc.), Mīmāṃsā, Dharmaśāstra, Purāna, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcārātra, and Pāśupata (chap. 22, verses 129-134);

(ii) a large number of holy places, rivers, lakes etc., the majority of which belongs to the western and north-western parts of Northern India (chap. 22, verses 142-184).

It is to be noted that the names of the rivers include the following :—Sindhu (mentioned thrice), Sarasvatī, Śatadru, Gomatī (mentioned twice), Sarayū, Vipāśā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvati, Vitastā, Devikā (mentioned twice) and Iksumatī.

Kauśikī and Karatoyā also have been mentioned.]

Praise of *tīrthas*.

Chaps. 24-25.—The first and the most important duty of a newly crowned king.—Selection of qualified persons for the posts of generals (who should be Brahmins or Kṣatriyas), messengers (who should know the local dialects), body-guards, tāmbūla-dhārīn, *sandhi-vigrahaka*, khadga-dhārīn, kośa-dhārīn, sārathī, sūdādhyaksa, cooks, judge, scribe (*lekha*), gate-keeper, gajādhyaksa, aśvādhyaksa, durgādhyaksa etc. Conduct of these officers towards the king.

Chaps. 26-27.—Selection of proper place for residence; construction of forts (viz., *dhanva-durga*, *mahī-durga*, *nara-durga*, *vārksa-durga*, *ambu-durga* and *giri-durga*) and furnishing these with houses, means of protection, herbs etc.

Chaps. 28-32 —Protection of the king from poison etc. Science of house-building (*vāstu-vidyā*). Directions about gardening and plantation. Building of temples, and making provisions for the worship of different deities. Praise of rendering service and making gifts to Brahmins; and glorification of Brahmins as superior to, and more powerful than, gods.

Chaps. 33-41.—On the conduct and duties of women.—

Praise of chaste women, and the protection to be given to them by the state.

Duties of a chaste woman.—She is to live under the guardianship of her father, husband or sons. She is not to take to magic (*mūla-*

karma) for any reason whatsoever. In case she becomes a widow, she is to die by mounting the funeral pyre of her deceased husband¹⁴⁶ or remain devoted to him without marrying for the second time. A wife, who dies in the above-mentioned way, is said to have a very happy future. If a widow has none on her husband's side, she is to be maintained by her father or some other relative on her father's side.—Chap. 34.

Duties of women continued.—Their worship of Śrī, Aśokikā, Chando-deva, vāstu-devatā, Viṣṇu, a cow with a calf, the constellations called Kṛttikā and Rohiṇī, Kārttika, Gaurī and Nārāyaṇa.—Chap. 35.

Story of Sāvitrī, narrated elaborately to exemplify the power of a devoted wife.—Chaps. 36-41.

Chaps. 42-44.—On cows.—Sanctity of cows; praise of service to cows; medical treatment of various diseases of cows (viz., those of the eyes, teeth, mouth, heart etc.); description of rites (śānti-karma) and measures for the welfare of cows in normal times as well as in various kinds of crises.

Chaps. 45-50.—On horses and elephants.—Necessity of these to kings; medical treatment of various diseases of these animals; description of rites (viz., *aśva-śānti* and *gaja-śānti*) and measures for their welfare.

Chaps. 51-60.—Necessity of man-power to the king. Directions about the selection of persons for helping the king in his work of public administration.—Chap. 51.

Medical treatment of females, so that they may give birth to numerous healthy sons.

Nursing and medical treatment of children from their very birth.

146 *pati-vratā tu yā nārī saha bhartrā divaṃ gatā/
kalpāvaśesaṃ muditā pūjyate tridaśālaye/ /*

(chap. 34, verse 41), and

*mṛtam bhartāram ādāya yadī vātha pati-vratā/
pravīṣed dvija-śārdūla jvalitam jātavedasam//
tīsthaḥ koṭyo 'rdha-koṭī ca yāni lomāni mānave/
tāvanty eva śatābdāni svarga-loke mahiyate/ /*

and so on (chap. 34, verses 47ff.).

Use of herbs and performance of various rites for their welfare. Performance of other rites and sacraments, viz., jāta-karma, karṇa-vedha, niṣkramana, anna-prāśana¹⁴⁷ and vidyārambha.¹⁴⁸—Chap. 52.

Rites and vows (viz., Rohiṇī-snāna, Saptamī-vrata¹⁴⁹ and Aṣṭamī-vrata) to ensure the birth of male children.—Chaps. 53-55.

Symptoms and medical treatment of various diseases of males.—Chap. 56.

Description of ceremonial baths and vows (viz., Śatabhiṣā-snāna, Ārogya-dvītiyā-vrata,¹⁵⁰ Ārogya-pratīpad¹⁵¹ and Ārogya-vrata) meant especially for ensuring freedom from diseases.—Chaps. 57-60.

Chap. 61.—On *rāja-dharma*.—Appointment of administrative officers, viz., grāmādhīpati, daśa-grāmādhīpa, śata-grāmādhīpa and viśayeśvara, whose activities are to be keenly observed through spies.

Benefits of good administration. Protection of subjects especially from the tyranny of Kāyasthas.¹⁵² Necessity of financial strength. Mention of the manifold avenues of income (viz., revenues, taxes, mines etc.). Laws about treasure-troves, lost articles, inherited property and stolen goods. Rates of taxation on various kinds of indigenous and foreign goods. Protection to be given by kings to Śrotīya Brahmins.

Chap. 62.—Necessity of females in life. The king's duties to the inmates of his harem..

Chaps. 63-64.—Directions about the preparation of food and perfumes.

Chap. 65.—Education and protection of princes; general conduct

¹⁴⁷ Chap. 52, verses 102-109. This rite includes the testing of the future tendency of the child by means of books, weapons, wares etc.

¹⁴⁸ Chap. 52, verses 123ff. At the beginning of this ceremony, Hari, Laksmī, Sarasvatī and the Sūtrakāras are to be worshipped.

¹⁴⁹ In this *vrata* the Sun is to be worshipped.

¹⁵⁰ In this *vrata* the Moon is to be worshipped at night.

¹⁵¹ In this *vrata* the Sun is to be worshipped.

¹⁵² bhaksyamānāḥ prajā rakṣyāḥ kāyasthaś ca viśesataḥ.—Verse 29.

For an idea of the tyranny of the Kāyasthas in Kashmir see Ksemendra's *Kalā-vilāsa*, *Narṇa-mālā* and *Deśopadeśa*, and Kallhana's *Rājatarangīni*, iv. 90 and 621ff, vii 1226, and viii 131 and 85-114.

of a successful ruler; his duties towards his friends and foes, benefits of good deliberation and of maintenance of its secrecy.

Chaps. 66-71.—Praise of *puruṣakāra* (enterprise). Proper application of the expedients, viz., *sāma* (which is classified into '*tatbya*' and '*atatbya*'), *bheda*, *dāna* and *daṇḍa*. The king's possession of certain divine capacities, viz., those of the Sun, the Moon, the Wind, the son of Vivasvat (i.e. Yama), Varuṇa and others.

Chap. 72.—Occasions for application of *daṇḍa*.—Laws about inheritance of property, unclaimed articles, stolen goods, witnesses, mortgaged property, deposits, contract, purchase, marriage, boundary, defamation, criminal assault, theft, adultery, prostitution, holy days, gambling, prize-fighting, labour, embankments, taking of forbidden food, etc.; and nature of punishment in case of violation of these laws.

Chap. 73.—Occasions for application of *daṇḍa*.—Rules of expiation (*prāyaścitta*) for sin caused by food, killing of animals, theft etc.; and punishment for violation of these rules.

Chap. 74.—Methods of performance of various kinds of *rabasya-prāyaścitta*.

Chaps. 75-76.—Determination of the periods of impurity (*aśauca*) caused by births and deaths; cremation and other attendant rites (such as offer of food and water to the deceased, consolation of the bereaved relatives, and so on); purification of things (*dravya-śuddhi*).

Chaps. 80-82.—Duties of the four castes. Origin, nature, and duties of the mixed castes (viz., *Caṇḍāla*, *Māgadha*, *Āyogava*, *Vaidhaka*, *Sūta*, *Pukkasa* and others). Profession of the members of the four castes in times of extreme distress (*āpad-dharma*); rules about interest and agriculture.¹⁵³

Chaps. 83-84.—Description of ceremonial baths, viz., *Pūrvāśādhā-snāna* (meant for profit in trade) and *Mūla-snāna* (for gain in agriculture).

Chaps. 85-86.—Rules to be observed during cohabitation with the wife to ensure the birth of a male child; description of the different sacraments (*samskāra*). Duties of a student.

Chap. 87.—Marriage.—Intercaste marriage—permissible in the

153 For directions about agriculture see chap. 82, verses 13ff.

descending order of castes; relative position of the wives of different castes, disapprobation of the acceptance of *śulka* (nuptial fee); remarriage of women;¹⁵⁴ forms of marriage; method of accepting the girls of different castes; auspicious time for marriage; rules about *adhivedana*; and so on.

Description of the method of worshipping Śacī before celebrating a marriage ceremony.¹⁵⁵

Chaps. 88-110. — Daily duties of a householder, viz., answering the call of nature, cleansing the mouth, bathing etc. Various prescriptions and prohibitions for a householder. — Chaps. 88-89.

Method of worshipping Viṣṇu, and selection of flowers for the purpose. — Chaps. 90-91.

Performance of Vaiśvadeva; offer of food to the manes; giving of fodder to cows, reception of guests; gifts of various things to guests. — Chap. 92.

Instructions about taking food and sleeping. Performance of 'pañca-mahāyajña' as well as of other sacrifices. — Chaps. 93-95.

Description of ceremonial baths (viz., Kṛttikā-snāna, Ārdrā-snāna, Śravanā-snāna, Janmarksa-snāna, Dīkpāla-snāna, Vināyaka-snāna, Māheśvara-snāna etc.) and of special worship of Viṣṇu under particular Naksatras and on special occasions for the accomplishment of desired objects, such as destruction of one's enemies, freedom from diseases, and so on. — Chaps. 96-110.

Chaps. 111-123. — On *karma-vipāka*. — Results of sinful acts such as murder, theft, etc. Description of birth of creatures (with a discourse on *bboga-deha* and the origin of the foetus. — Chaps 112-114).

154 *naste mrte pravrajite klībe 'tha patite 'patau/
pancasv āpatsu nārīnām patir anyo vidhīyate //* (II. 87. 11).

This verse occurs again in Viśnudh. III. 329 and is the same as Parāśara-smṛti 4. 30. Both in Viśnudh. III. 329 (verse 14) and Parāśara-smṛti, chap. 4 it reads 'patite patau'

155 See verses 21ff. During this worship, an image of Śacī is to be constructed with earth, taken with great ceremony to the side of a river or a lake by such women as have their husbands living, and worshipped for three days. While taking the image to the place of worship, these women are to wear red clothes and carry arms in their hands

Description of the structure of the human body (chap. 115). Passing of the soul out of the body, and the dissolution of the latter into the five elements; description of the region of the dead—*preta-loka* (chap. 116). Actions (viz., the due performance of one's duties, abstention from wine, meat etc., donation of various things, and so on) that lead to heaven; and actions leading to hell.—Chaps. 117-8.

Names and description of hells; results of stealing different articles.—Chaps. 119-121.

Actions that enable people to get over difficulties. Description of various kinds of expiatory penances, viz., *Cāndrāyana*, *Sāntapana*, *Taptakṛcchra*, *Kṛcchrātikṛcchra* etc.—Chaps. 122-3.

Chaps. 124-129.—Praise of muttering the *Gāyatrī* and the different *Sūktas* of the *R̥gveda*. Method of performing *vaśīkaraṇa*, *uccātana* etc. with the use of *mantras* of the *Yajurveda*. Attainment of different objects by muttering different *mantras* of the *Sāma-veda* and the *Atharva-veda* and performing *homas* with these. Praise of the *Śrī-sūkta* and the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, and their use in *homas*.

Chaps. 130-131.—Duties of *vānaprasthas* and *saṃnyāsins*.

Chaps. 132-133.—Mention of various kinds of *Ātharvana śānti* (purificatory rite) meant for the accomplishment of various objects.

Chaps. 134-144.—Various kinds of heavenly, atmospheric and terrestrial omens (*utpāta*), as described by *Vṛddha-garga* to *Attri*.

Chaps. 145-150.—Mention of the seven *aṅgas* of a kingdom, viz., *sāma*, *dāna*, *durga*, *kośa*, *daṇḍa*, *mitra* and *janapada*; description of a circle of kings (*rāja-maṇḍala*) consisting of *vijigīṣu*, *ari*, *mitra*, *pārṣṇigrāha*, *ākṛanda* etc.

Description and application of *prakāśa* and *aprakāśa* *daṇḍa*, occasion for *upekṣā*; terrifying the enemies by creating artificial omens, shouting, taking to magic, and by various other means; explanation and application of *śāḍgunya*.

Chap. 151.—Daily duties of kings, viz., meeting the spies, hearing about the income and expenditure, answering the call of nature, and so on (including hearing of disputes and deliberation with ministers).

Chaps. 152-158.—Religious rites to be performed by the king. Description of *Viṣṇu-worship* for four months (*cāturmāsya-vidhi*);

worship of Indra's banner (śakra-dhvaja), which Viṣṇu gave to the gods after the latter's defeat in a war with the demons and which was worshipped by king Vasu and others according to the directions of Garga; worship of Bhadrakālī in a picture on Āśvina-śukla-navamī.

Chaps. 159-161.—Description of nīrājana-śānti. Mantras of chatra, aśva, dhvaja etc., and Ghrta-kambala-śānti, as described by Parāśara to Gālava.

Chap. 162.—Annual coronation of the king.

Chaps. 163-165.—Proper time for marching against enemies. Omens indicating good or evil in marches. Determination of the king's good or evil from questions etc.

Chaps. 166-174.—On astrology and astronomy.—Position of planets and stars, and their influence on the life and activity of the king; astronomical calculations (including measurement of planets and stars).

[All these chapters are written in prose, and in these, Brahmā speaks to Bhṛgu.

Towards the beginning of chap. 166 the former says to the latter: "When, at the beginning of the Kalpa, you were born from my heart, I told you about the movements of the luminaries in twenty-four lacs of verses. ... I shall repeat all these very briefly. ...".¹⁵⁶

The colophon of chap. 174 is followed by the words 'samāptam paitāmaha-siddhāntam'.]

Chaps. 175-176.—Determination of proper time for starting against enemies. Rites (such as worship of Vināyaka and other deities, performance of *jaya-snāna* or bath for victory, consecration of weapons, and so on) to be performed before and during the start; the king's conduct in the land of his enemies.

Chap. 177.—Preliminaries of war (viz., bathing of elephants and

¹⁵⁶ See Viṣṇudh. II 166—.. śrībrahmānam bhṛgur vijñāpayāmāsa—bhagavañ jyotisām ayanam śrotum icchāmi/ tam uvāca bhagavān pitāmahah/ yadā me tvam kalpādaḥ hrdayā jātas tadā mayā te ślokanām caturviṃśati-lakṣam jyotiṛ-ayanam uktam tad evāsmiṁ vārune yajñe mahādeva-śāpeṇa jvālāṁ bhittvā vinir-gatasya janmāntarotpānnasya atisamkṣiptam vaksyāmi/ tacchrutvā sarvam eva te pūrva-janmābhīṣṭam jyotiṛ-jñānam āvirbhaviṣyati/

horses, worship of Nṛsiṃha, and so on). Philosophy and method of war (with the names of vyūhas and the mention of the dexterity of people of different countries in different types of war),¹⁵⁷ praise of death in war; duty of the king after attainment of victory.

Chaps. 178-183.—On *dbanurveda* (including use of khadga, prāsa, śūla etc. in war, and dressing of horses and elephants for the same purpose).

Khaṇḍa III.

Chap. 1.—Vajra's enquiry about the means of attaining happiness here and hereafter; and Mārkaṇḍeya's praise of the worship of deities in sacrifices, on the one hand, and of the observance of fasts, vows etc., on the other.

Praise of worship of deities in beautiful images constructed in accordance with the principles of painting (*citrasūtra-vidhānena*)

Chap. 2.—Being requested by Vajra to speak on the art of painting (*citrasūtram*) Mārkaṇḍeya says that knowledge of painting is dependent on that of dancing, knowledge of dancing rests on that of instrumental music (*ātodya*), and the science of instrumental music is dependent on that of vocal music (*gīta*), and that one, who is versed in the science of vocal music, can master all the rest.¹⁵⁸

157 See verses 40-43a—

dākṣiṇātyāś ca vijñeyāḥ kuśalāḥ khadga-varminah/
 . vaṅkalā dhānvino jñeyāḥ pārvatīyās tathaiṣa ca//
 pāṣāna-yuddha-kuśalās tathā parvata-vāsinah/
 pāñcālāḥ śūrasenās ca rathesu kuśalā narāḥ//
 kāmbojā ye ca gāndhārāḥ kuśalās te hayesu ca/
 prāyaśaś ca tathā mleccā vijñeyāḥ pāśa-yodhinah//
 aṅgā vaṅgāḥ kalīṅgāś ca jñeyā mātanga-yodhinah/.

158 Verses 3b-7—

vinā tu nṛtya-śāstreṇa citrasūtram sudurvidam/
 jagato na kriyā kāryā dvayor api yato nrpa//

 ātodyam yo na jñāti tasya nṛttam hi durvidam/
 ātodyena vinā nṛttam vidyate na kathamcana//

 na gītena vinā śakyam jñātum ātodyam apy uta/
 gīta-śāstra-vidhānajñāḥ sarvam vetti yathāvidhi//

Going to speak on *gīta-śāstra* Mārkaṇḍeya refers to the following topics:—composition of songs (i) in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa and various local dialects and (ii) in prose and verse;¹⁵⁹ classification of verses into *vr̥tta* and *mātrika* according to the nature of their metres.¹⁶⁰ mention of some points on grammar, viz., use of *śabda-vibhaktis*, mention and use of different persons, and so on.

Chap. 3.—Mention of the following *vr̥ttas* (with the number of syllables in a quarter):—Gāyatra, Uṣṇik, Anuṣṭubh, Brhatī, Pañkti, Tristubh, Jagatī, Atijagatī, Śakvarī, Atiśakvarī, Aṣṭī, Aṣṭastī, Vṛttī, Ativṛttī, Kṛtī, Prakṛtī, Ākṛtī, Vikṛtī, Samkṛtī, Vikṛtī(?) and Atikṛtī.¹⁶¹ Rules about reckoning the syllables as *laghu* or *guru*. Characteristics of Nivṛt (?), Tamat (?), Virāt and Surā, and the origin of the different types of *mātrā-cchandas* (or metres regulated by the numbers of syllabic instants).¹⁶²

Chaps. 4-6.—Characteristics of the speeches of gods, sages,

159-160 Verses 9-11—

sanskṛtam prākṛtam caiva gītam dvividham ucyate/
apabhrastam trtiyam ca tad anantam narādhīpa//
deśa-bhāṣā-viśeṣena tasyānto ncha vidyate/
gītam pāṭha-vaśāḥ jñeyam sa ca pāṭho dvidhā matah//
gadyam padyam ca dharmajñā gadyam samkathayā smṛtam/
padyam chando-viśeṣena cchandaś ca bahudhā bhavet//
gadya-padyānubhāvena jñeyau laksana-samyutau/
padyam ca dvividham tatra svṛttam atimuktakam//

161 Verses 8b-9a—

samkṛtiś caika-samyuktā kathitā vikṛtir nrpa/
sadvimśatiś cātikṛtiś chandaś cuktam manisibhih//

The text of this verse is obviously corrupt. According to the Chando-mañjarī and the Vṛtta-ratnākara, Atikṛtī has 25 syllables in a quarter and Utkṛtī has 26.

162 Verses 17-19—

... .. mātrācchandas tathaiva hi/
uktavarnāksaram chando bhaved eka-vivarjitah//
yadā tadā nivṛt-samjñō hy adhikena tamat tathā/
varna-dvayena rahitam virād iti hi śabdītam//
adhikam ca surā-samjñam kathitam yadu-sattama/
tebhyo bhavanti sarvāni mātrā-cchandāmsi yādava//

demons etc. Definition¹⁶³ and classification of *sūtras*; characteristics of their explanation; different kinds of *pramāṇa*; meaning of 'āpta' and 'āpta-vacanābhāsa'; and so on.

Explanation of the terms 'adhikaraṇa,' 'yoga,' 'padārtha,' 'hetvārtha,' 'uddeśa,' 'arthāpatti' etc.

Chap. 7.—Characteristics of Prakrit.

This chapter ends with the following two verses:—

dimātram etad uddiṣṭam madhyā prākṛta-lakṣanam/
prayogād anukartavyo vistaro hy ativistarah//
deśeṣu deśeṣu pṛthag vibhinnaṃ na śakyate lakṣaṇatas tu vaktum/
lokeṣu yat syād apabhraṣṭa-samjñam jñeyam hi tad-deśavido
'dhikāram//

Chaps. 8-13.—Sanskrit vocabulary.—

List of synonymous words denoting various divine beings, division of time, rivers, men etc.

Lists of feminine, masculine and neuter words.

Chaps. 14-16.—On poetics (alamkāra)—

Definition of *anuprāsa*, and limitation in its use;¹⁶⁴ definition and use¹⁶⁵ of *yamaka*, and its classification into *samdaṣṭaka* and *samudga*; definitions of *rūpaka*, *vyatireka*, *śleṣa*, *utpreksā*, *arthāntara-nyāsa*, *upanyāsa*, *vibhāvanā*, *atīśayokti*, *svabbāvokti*, *yathā-samkhyā*, *viśeṣokti*, *virodha*, *nindā-stuti*, *nidarśana* etc.—Chap. 14.

[In some of the verses there are references to older authorities on poetics.—See Chap. 14, verse 7—*utpreksākhyo hy alamkārah kathitah sa purāṇanaiḥ*; verse 12—*yathāsamkhyam iti proktam alamkārah purāṇanaiḥ*; and verse 15—*ananvayākhyam kathitam purāṇanaiḥ* * * *.]

Definitions of 'itihāsa' and 'kāvyā'.

Definition and characteristics of 'mahākāvyā' (which should

163 Chap. 5, verse 1—

alpāksaram asaṃdigdham sāravad viśvatomukham/
astobham anavadyam ca sūtram sūtravido viduh//

164 Chap. 14, verse 2a—

atyartham tat kṛtam rājan grāmyatām upagacchari/
(tat=anuprāsam).

165 Chap. 14, verse 4a—

samasta-pāda-yamakam duskaram parikṛtitaṃ/

contain description of towns, countries etc. and have a *nāyaka* and a *pratināyaka*, but should not describe the death of the *nāyaka*)¹⁶⁶

Defects in poetical composition.

Delineation of nine Rasas in Mahākāvya, viz., *śṛṅgāra*, *hāsyā*, *karuṇa*, *raudra*, *vīra*, *bhayānaka*, *bībhatsa*, *adbhuta* and *śānta*.—Chap. 15.

Prahelikās (Riddles).—Classification of Prahelikās into those which are faulty (*dosāh*) and those which are faultless. Names and definitions of the Prahelikās of the second type, viz., *samāgatā*, *vanditā*,¹⁶⁷ *vṛttānta-gopikā*, *duḥkṛtā*, *parihāsikā*, *samāna-rūpā*, *pariṣā*, *samkhyātā*, *kalpitā*, *nāmāntarītā*, *nibhṛtā*, *samāna-śabdā*, *vyāmūdhā*, *gucchā*,¹⁶⁸ *eka-cchannā*, *ubhaya-cchannā*, *bahu-cchannā* and *samkīrnā*

Further classification of Prahelikās into *vyabhicārīnī*, *nastārthā*, *nastāksarā*, *varnabhṛstā* and *leśākhyā*.

Restriction on the use of even the faultless Prahelikās.¹⁶⁹—Chap. 16.

Chaps. 17-31.—On dramaturgy.—

Mention of 'Purāna' as having four Pādas (viz., *Prakriyā*, *Upodghāta*, *Anusaṅga* and *Samhāra*) and five characteristics (*pañca-laksana*—*sarga*, *pratisarga*, *vamśa*, *manvantara* and *vamśāṇucarita*).

Origin of dramas,¹⁷⁰ general form of dramas,¹⁷¹ classification of

166 Chap. 15, verses 7b-8a—

pratināyaka-ghātas tu vaktavyo nectarasya tu/
nāyakasya mahārāja maranam naiva varayet//

167 The name 'varjitā' (for 'vanditā') occurs in the Dacca Univ Ms (No. 4669, fol. 10b) of the Viṣṇudharmottara

168 The Dacca Univ Ms (No. 4669 fol. 10b) reads 'gūdhākhyā' for 'gucchākhyā'

169 Chap. 16, verse 2—

ślokenaikena vā dvābhyām kartavyā tu narottama/
na kartavyāś ca tā rājan bahu-śloka-nibandhanāh//

170 Chap. 17, verse 7—

itihāsānusārena purānānām samikṣitam/
caritam tridaśānām vā nāṭakam tatra kīrtitam//

171 In this connection the following verses are to be noted —

bahu-daivatīkam vṛttam kartavyam tu praveśakam/
samksepoktiś ca kartavyā kartavyo na hi viśtarah//
prakhyāta-nāyaka-vadham na ca tatra prayeśayet/
tasya prakāśanam kāryam anke'py eva narādhipa//

dramas into 12 varieties, viz., Nāṭaka, Nāṭikā, Prakaraṇa,¹⁷² Prakaraṇī, Utsrṣṭikāṅka,¹⁷³ Bhāna,¹⁷⁴ Samavakāra, Ihāmrga, Vyāyoga, Vithī, Dima and Prahasana;¹⁷⁵ characteristics of these varieties; use of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṣṭa (i.e. Apabhramśa) in dramas, peculiarities (as regards names etc.) of different characters; characteristics of the eight types of *nāyikās* (*nāyikāṣṭaka-lakṣaṇam*), viz., *vāsa-sajjā*, *virahotkanṭhitā*, *svādhīna-bhartṛkā*, *kalahāntarītā*, *khaṇḍitā*, *vipralabdhā*, *proṣita-bhartṛkā*, and *abhisārīkā*;¹⁷⁶ delineation of the nine Rasas including *śānta*¹⁷⁷ in dramas.—Chap. 17.

Characteristics of different kinds of vocal music (*gīta-lakṣaṇam*), names of particular types of vocal music which are appropriate to the nine Rasas (including *Śānta*).—Chap. 18.

Classification and characteristics of instrumental music (*ātodya*), employment of particular types of instrumental music in the cases of the nine Rasas (including *Śānta*).—Chap. 19.

Dancing and acting.—Definition of *nāṭya*; necessity of *nṛtta* in theatrical performances; classification of *nṛtta*; construction of the

nāyakābhyudayaḥ kāryo nāṭakānte tathaiṣa ca/
bahvyo'pi nāyikā yatra tāsām api tathā bhavet//

Chap 17, verses 16-18.

172 Chap. 17, verses 19b-21—

kṛtaṃ prakaraṇam tadvat svayam utpādyā vastunā//
brāhmaṇo nāyakaḥ tatra vaṇik ca nrpa-sattama/
evam prakaraṇī kāryā catur-āṅkāpi sā bhavet//
itihāsanubandho vā svayam utpādyā vā kṛtīh/
bhārati-karuṇa-prāyo nivr̥ttaṃ samanantaram//

173 The Dacca Univ. Ms (No 4669, fol. 11b) reads 'utsrṣṭakāṅkah', whereas the printed edition has 'catustayāṅkah'.

174 The printed edition reads 'prāṇah' for 'bhānah' of the Univ Ms (fol. 11b).

175 According to the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Prahasanas are divided into Bhānas and Vithīs

176 The line 'kāntopasarpana-manās tathā jñeyābhisārīkā', mentioning 'abhisārīkā', is wanting in the printed edition but occurs in the Dacca Univ. Ms (fol 12b).

177 Chap. 17, verse 61—

śṛṅgāra-lāsyā-karuṇa-vīra-raudra-bhayānakāh/
bibhatsādbhuta śāntākhyā nava nāṭya-rasāḥ smṛtāh//

stage, religious rites preceding and following a theatrical performance, description of the different modes of *abhinaya*, viz, *āhārya*, *sāttvika*, *vācika* and *āngika*, description of *aṅgahāras*, *karanas*, *śiraḥ-karmanas*, *rasa-drṣṭis*, *hastavyavasthās*, *anga-racanā* (by means of paints), *sāmānyā-bhinaya*, *gati-laksanas* etc.—Chaps. 20-29.

Treatment of the nine Rasas (including *Śānta*)¹⁷⁸ to be delineated in dramas.—Chap. 30.

Description of the 49 *bhāvas* (including *nirveda*),¹⁷⁹ and their relation to the different Rasas.—Chap. 31.

[Chaps. 17-31 are based on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*.]

Chaps. 32-34.—In these chapters Mārkaṇḍeya professes to speak 'briefly on *nṛtya-śāstra*.' The topics dealt with in these chapters are as follows:—

Names and description of the various *mudrās* to be performed in dancing.—Chaps. 32-33.

Story of the origin of dancing (*nṛtta*) from Viṣṇu.—Being eulogised by Brahmā to kill the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, Viṣṇu left his bed, moved gracefully on the ocean, and thus created the art of dancing, by which, he said, one can imitate the three worlds.¹⁸⁰

178 For *śānta-rasa* see chap. 30, verses 1-2a—

hāsyā-śṛṅgāra-karuna-raudra-vīra-bhayānakāh/
bibhats-ādbhuta-śāntākhyā nava nāṭye rasāḥ smṛtāh//
śānto rasah svatantra'tra prthag eva vyavasthitah/

verse 4a—

śānta-svabhāva-varnas tu rasah prokto narādhipa/

and verses 8b-11a—

śāntasya devo vijñeyah parah purusa eva tu//
śāntasya tu samutpattir nrpa vairāgyatah smṛtā/
sa cābhineyo bhavati linga-grahanatas tathā//
sarva-bhūta-dayā-dhyāna-moksa-mārga-pravartanaḥ/
nāsti yatra sukham dukham na dveso nāpi matsarah//
samah sarvesu bhūtesu sa śāntah prathito rasah/

For mention of *nirveda*, see verse 16.

179 Chap 31, verse 11b—

dāridry-esta-vināśe ca nirvedo nāma jāyate/

180 Chap 34, verse 17b—

trailokasy-ānukaranam nṛtte devī pratiṣṭhitam/

Viṣṇu then killed the demons and imparted the dance, thus created by him, to Brahmā. The latter, in his turn, imparted it to Rudra, and Rudra worshipped Viṣṇu with it.

Praise of worshipping deities with dance, denouncement of the use of dance for earning one's livelihood. Benefits of dancing, as mentioned in verses 30b-31 of Chap. 34—

īśvarāṇām vilāsam tu cārtānām duḥkha nāśanam/
mūḍhānām upadeśam tat śrīnām saubhāgya-vardhanam//
śāntikam paustikam kāmīyam vāsudevena nṛmitam//—

Chaps. 35-43.—Mārkaṇḍeya's speech on Citrasūtra (i. e. the art of painting)¹⁸¹.—First invention of the art of painting by Nārāyaṇa, who created Urvāśī after painting her figure on the surface of the earth with the juice of a *sabakāra* tree and taught this new art to Viśvakarman; close relation of painting with dancing; classification of males into *haṃsa*, *bhadra*, *mālavya*, *rucaka* and *śaśaka*, and the description and measurement of the different parts of their body; division of females into five classes; description of the method of wall-painting; preparation of dyes; classification of paintings into *satya*, *vanika*, *nāgara* and *miśra*, peculiarities, in dress etc., of different deities, demons, human beings, prostitutes, warriors and others; representation of the sky, mountains, woods, water, seasons, evening, darkness etc., as well as of the nine Rasas (including *Śānta*) through painting; selection of places where pictures representing the different sentiments may be placed;¹⁸² types of pictures to be kept in houses, palaces etc.; praise of painting, relation of painting with clay-modelling.

[Chap. 43 ends with the words 'samāptam citrasūtram'.]

181 On this highly interesting section see Stella Kramrisch in Calcutta Review, February 1924, pp. 331ff., and Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), Vol. XI, 1924.

182 Chap. 43, verses 11-13—

śṛṅgāra-hāsyā-śāntyākhā lekhanīyā grheṣu te//
para-śeṣā na kartavyā kadācid api kasyacit/
deva-veśmanī kartavyā rasāḥ sarve nṛpālaye//
rāja-veśmanī no kāryā rājñām vāsa-grheṣu te/
sabhā-veśmaṣu kartavyā rājñām sarva rasā grhe//

Chaps. 44-85.—Mārkaṇḍeya's speech on the construction of images of deities.—Characteristics of images of the Triad (trimūrti) Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra (chap. 44). Construction of a lotus with gold, silver, copper or brass for worshipping the intended deity on it (chap. 45).

Causes and benefits of image-worship (chap. 46, verses 1-6).

Description, and occasional explanation, of the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu (having four faces and eight hands), Maheśvara (having five faces and ten hands) the two Nāsatyas, Indra-and-Śacī (who are said to be the same as Viṣṇu and Laksmī respectively), Yama (who is accompanied by Citragupta and Kāla and is the same as Samkarsana), Varuna (with Gaṅgā and Yamunā at his sides), Dhanada (i.e. Kuvera), Garuda, Tāla, Makara, Śiva (having one face and four hands and with Pārvatī at his side), Agni-and-Svāhā, Virūpākṣa, Vāyu-and-Śiva, Bhairava, Viṣṇu (having one face and two hands), Mahī (the Earth, having four hands and being attended with four quarter-elephants), Gagana (the Sky, having two hands and holding the sun and the moon in them), Brahmā-and-Sāvitṛī, Sarasvatī (having four hands), Ananta (having four hands and numerous hoods and holding the earth on the middlemost hood), Tumburu (with Jayā and Vijayā on his right side and with Jayantī and Aparājitā on his left), Sūrya (the Sun, who has four hands and beautiful beards and wears a coat and a girdle called 'aviyāṅga',¹⁸³ and who is lion-bannered and is attended by Dandin and Pingala, as well as either by his four sons named Revanta, Yama, Vaivasvata Manu and Sāvarṇi Manu and his four wives Rājñī, Rikṣubhā, Chāyā and Suvarcasā or by the other planets), Candra (the Moon),¹⁸⁴ the Planets, Manus, Kumāra (and his other forms, viz., Skanda, Viśākha and Guha), Bhadrakālī (having eighteen hands and mounting a chariot drawn by four lions), Brahmā (mounted on a swan), Vināyaka (having four hands and the head of an elephant), Viśvakarman (having two hands and carrying a *samdamśa* in one of them), Vasus, Viśvedevas, Rudras, Sādhyas, Ādityas, Maruts, multifarious divine and semi-

183 'Aviyāṅga' (or 'avyanga') is the name of the girdle originally worn by Magi priests of ancient Persia. In the Avesta it is called Aivyāonghen.

184 For detailed description of the image of the Moon, see chap. 68.

divine beings (viz., Kaśyapa, Kaśyapa's wives, Dhruva, Agastya, Bhṛgu, Jayanta, Bala, Puṣkara, Jyotsnā, Nalakubara, Manibhadra, Vāyu-putra, Soma-suta, Nandin, Vīrabhadra and Artha; Kāmadeva and his four wives; some female deities such as Sarasvatī, Vārūṇī, Cāmuṇḍā, Śuṣkā, Śiva-dūtī and others; Kāla, Jvara, and Dhanvantari, the presiding deities of the individual Vedas, Ṣaḍaṅgas, and various other śāstras, viz., *dharmaśāstra*, *itihāsa*, *nṛta-śāstra*, *pāñcarātra*, *pāśu-pata* etc.), Liṅga, Vyoman, Nara-and-Nārāyaṇa (with a fruit-bearing *badārī* tree standing between them), Dharma (having four faces, four hands, four legs, and a white complexion), Nṛsiṃha, Varāha, Haya-grīva (having eight hands), Padma-nābha (Viṣṇu), Lakṣmī (having two hands and being attended with two elephants holding two pitchers), Viśvarūpa (Hari), Aīdūka (representing the universe as well as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara), Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Matsya, Kūrma, Bhārgava Rāma, Rāma Dāśarathī and his brothers, Vālmīki, the five Pāṇḍavas, Draupadī, Devakī, Yaśodā, Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Sāmba and others.—Chaps. 46-85

Chaps. 86-95.—Building of temples.—Description of different types of temples (such as Sarvatobhadra etc.) meant for different deities (chaps. 86-88); the architect's selecting, cutting and bringing of wood and stone from forests and mountains respectively for the construction of temples (chaps. 89-90); method of preparing bricks (chap. 91); composition of cement (ch. 92); selection and purification of sites for the construction of temples; special marks and flags for the temples of different deities (chaps. 93-95).

Chaps. 96-117.—Consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of an image¹⁸⁵ of Viṣṇu. Determination of proper time of consecration. Detailed description of the method of consecration (—initiation of the consecrator, performance of toraṇa-nyāsa; preparation of pañca-gavya; purification of the image; performance of adhivāsa; summoning of the principal deity with his attendants; performance of *homa* and of the ceremony of

185 In explaining the necessity of summoning Viṣṇu although he pervades the universe, Mārkaṇḍeya supports image-worship thus:—

ādau kṛtvā mahābhāga sākāre lakṣa-bandhanam/
tataḥ samartho bhavati śūnye dhyāne narottama//

Chap. 108, verses 26b-27a.

awakening the Bhagavat (bhagavad-vibodhana), bathing and anointing the Bhagavat; offer of various things to the deity; worship of the deity according to Vedic and Sāttvata methods, taking out the image in procession.

Chaps. 118-125.—Results of, and occasions for, worshipping Viṣṇu's different manifestations¹⁸⁶ and muttering their names; proper time and places¹⁸⁷ of such worship and muttering.

Chaps. 126-225 —Description of various Vratas, viz., Brāhmī Pratīpad, Trīmūrti-vrata, Pauruṣī Pratīpad, Prakṛti-Puruṣa-vrata, Nāsatya-dvītiyā-vrata, Bārendu-dvītiyā-vrata, Aśūnya-śayana-dvītiyā-vrata, Trivikrama-tṛtiyā-vrata (of three varieties), Viṣṇu-trīmūrti-vrata, Viṣṇu-caturmūrti-vrata (of fifteen varieties), Pañca-mūrti-vrata (of four varieties), Ṣaṇmūrti-vrata, Sapta-mūrti-vrata, Pātāla-vrata, Sapta-dvīpa-vrata, Sapta-samudra-vrata, Sapta-śaila-vrata, Sapta-loka-vrata, Sapta-nadī-vrata, Sapta-hrada-vrata, Saptarṣi-vrata, Marud-vrata, Sūrya-vrata (with the mention of the names of those who follow the Sun in the different months), (Saura-)Saptamī-vrata, (Saura-) Rakta-saptamī-vrata, Astāvasu-vrata, Maheśvarāstamī-vrata, Parvatāstamī-vrata, Bhadrakālī-vrata, Viśvedeva-vrata, Angīro-vrata, Dharma-vrata, Rudra-vrata, Bhṛgu-vrata, Sādhyā-vrata, Dvādaśāditya-vrata, Kāmadeva-vrata, Dhana-vrata, Vāyu-vrata, Virūpākṣa-vrata, Yama-vrata, Maheśvara-vrata, Pitr-vrata, Vahni-vrata, Candṛa-vrata, Purnamāsī-vrata, Varuna-vrata, Śakra-vrata, Brahmakūrca-vrata, Mahāvrata, Roca-vrata, etc.

The deities, to be worshipped in these Vratas, are called the different forms of Viṣṇu.

In chaps. 215-220 Mārkaṇdeya reports to Vajra what Pulastya said to Dālbhya about the procedure of some Vratas. These six chapters form a distinct section ending with the words 'samāptah pulastya-dālbhya-saṁvādah.'

186 Vālmiki, Dharma, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Indra, Prthu and Divākara also are regarded as Viṣṇu's manifestations.—See chaps 118-121.

187 The names of places include the following —Puskara, Kālāñjara, Sindhu-kūla, Kāśmīra, Karnāta, Madra-dēśa, Prāgyyotisa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Malaya, Anga, Mūlāsthāna, Gayā, Lohadānda, Vṛndāvana, Udra ('where Viṣṇu remains as Purusottama'—udresu purusottamam) etc.—See chaps. 121 and 125

Chaps. 223-224 contain the story of Astāvakra, who learnt, from Kuvera and an old woman, about the various Roca-vratas and the unstable nature of women respectively.

Chaps. 226-342.—In these chapters, which constitute the Hamsa-gītā, Viṣṇu is said to have assumed the form of Hamsa and spoken to the sages on the following topics:—

Duties of the four main castes and of the mixed castes. Duties of students and householders. Selection of food¹⁸⁸ (bhakṣyābhakṣya) Purification of things (dravya-śuddhi). Impurity caused by birth, death and miscarriage. Good manners and customs. Sacraments. Various prescriptions and prohibitions. Sins and expiations. Results of actions —Chaps. 227-237.

[None of these chapters contains anything striking. They consist mainly of verses derived from the Manu-smṛti, Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Parāśara-smṛti etc.]

Various unfavourable symptoms (arīṣṭa) of approaching death.—Chap. 238.

Evils of nescience (ajñāna), sins, passion, overjoy, self-conceit, intoxication, greed, anger, atheism, egotism, want of purity, violation of ācāra, telling lies (except in some special cases), and practice of *himsā* (except in certain special cases).—Chaps. 239-252.

. Results of various sinful acts.—Chap. 253.

Benefits of the following:—acquirement of knowledge (jñāna), practice of *dharmā*, service to superiors, study of sacred books (viz., the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Upavedas, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata, Purāṇa etc.), practice of *brahmacarya*, and begetting of sons.—Chaps. 254-259.

Praise of reputation (kīrti), fame (yaśah), sacrifice (yajña), good conduct (śīla), self-control, truth, religious austerity, bravery (especially in war), *ahimsā*, tolerance (kṣamā), gratitude, good manners and customs, purity (śauca), visit to holy places, fasting, mental purity, *śraddhā*, and bath.—Chaps. 260-277.

¹⁸⁸ Food offered by raṅgāvatārins, pāsandas, cakitsā-jīvakas, āyudha-jīvins, śāstra-vikrayakārins, caila-dhāvakas and others is not eatable.—Chap 230, verses 1ff.

Method and praise of muttering the *mantra*, performance of *prāṇāyāma*, and practice of *pratyāhāra*, *dhāranā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi*.—Chaps. 278-284.

Praise of perseverance (*vyavasāya*) and determination (*samkalpa*), which are at the root of final emancipation.—Chaps. 285-286.

Praise and results of performing *homa*, worshipping deities with the offer of various things and rendering service to them, offering different articles to the *Pitrs*, performing the rites of hospitality to guests, serving Brahmins and cows, showing compassion, becoming courteous, speaking sweet words, and being enterprising.—Chaps. 287-295.

Praise and results of digging wells, tanks etc., planting trees, plants and creepers, making embankments and well-furnished *prapās* (i. e. places for distributing water to travellers), and serving and helping the travellers in various ways.—Chaps. 296-298.

Classification of wealth into (a) white (*śukla*), (b) variegated (*śabala*) and (c) black (*kṛṣṇa*), and the ways of earning these different kinds of wealth.—Chap. 299.

Praise of donation. Proper time, place¹⁸⁹ and recipients (who are Brahmins in most cases).—Chap. 300.

Certain rules about receiving gifts; deities presiding over the different kinds of gifts; methods of receiving these gifts.—Chap. 301.

Results of assuring safety (*abhaya-dāna*) under different circumstances.—Chap. 302.

Results and praise of *vidyā-dāna*,¹⁹⁰ *kanyā-dāna* (according to the

189 The names of places, as specially mentioned in verses 25-29, are the following.—Puskara, Prayāga, Prabhāsa, Natmisa, Dharmāranya, Gayā, Amarakantaka, Gaṅgādvāra, Kuśāvarta, Bilvaka, Nīla-parvata, Kanakhala, Śāligrāma, Vārānasi, Sarasvatī, Gaṅgā-sāgara-sangama, Sindu-sāgara-sandhi, Tritakūpa, Plaksa-prasravana, Camasonmajjana, Mahālaya, Kedāra, Bhrgutunga, Mānasa, Uttara-mānasa and Dadhī-tirtha.

190 In connection with *vidyā-dāna*, special mention has been made of teaching the Vedas, Upavedas, Vedāngas, Dharma-śāstras, Siddhāntas and other śāstras, the different kinds of arts (*śilpa*), and dhanurveda—Chap 303.

Brāhma, Daiva and Prājāpatya forms), bhūmi-dāna,¹⁹¹ go-mahiṣa-dāna, dadhi-dugdhādi-dāna, and kapilā-dāna.—Chaps. 303-306.

Description and praise of ghṛta-dhenu-dāna, tila-dhenu-dāna and jala-dhenu-dāna.—Chaps. 307-309.

Results and praise of suvarṇa-rūpyādi-dāna, muktā-marakata-vaīdūryādi-dāna, śayyāsanādi-vividha-vastu-dāna, dāsa-dāsī-dāna, hasty-aśvoṣṭra-gardabhādi-dāna, vastra-dāna,¹⁹² śirastrāṇa-hastatrāṇa-pādatrāṇādi-dāna, dhānya¹⁹³-yava-godhūma-tila-mudgādi-dāna, guḍa-phāṇitādi-dāna, and anna-dāna.—Chaps. 310-315.

Results of making gifts to different types of recipients and at different times.—Chaps. 316-319.

Results of taking one meal a day and of observing fast for one day or more.—Chap. 320.

Names of different regions (*loka*) attainable by those who perform different kinds of pious acts.—Chap. 321.

Duties of devoted wives.—Chap. 322.

Duties of kings.—Appointment of ministers and other officers; construction of well-provided forts; marriage; appointment of officers (viz., grāmādhīpa, daśa-grāmādhīpa, śata-grāmādhīpa and deśeśvara) for carrying on rural administration; levying of taxes;¹⁹⁴ and so on.—Chap. 323.

Treatment of *vyavahāra* (administration of justice) under the following heads:—constitution of the court of justice, laws about summoning the accused and placing him under legal restraint; method of recording a plaint; legal procedure; examination of witnesses; laws about mortgage, gifts etc.; different kinds of evidence (viz., sāksin,

191 Land has been classified into śāka-bhūmi, ārāma-bhūmi, udyāna-bhūmi, ākara-bhūmi, grha-bhūmi etc.—See Chap. 304

192 In chap. 313 clothes have been classified, according to their materials, into kārṇāsika, sa-roma, āvika, ksauma, kuśa-nirmīta, kauśeya, kṛmīja, mṛga-lomika, valkalaja, and sumera-kadaly-ādi-nirmīta.

People are prohibited from giving to Brahmins clothes coloured blue or red.—Chap. 313, verses 3 and 11.

193 In chap. 314 there is mention of different kinds of rice, viz., rakta-śālī (which is said to be the best of all), kalama, mahāśālī, kāstha-śālī, vrihi, śyāmāka, śuka-dhānya etc.

194 For the rates of taxes see chap. 323, verses 38-44.

lekhya, *bboga*, and *divya*); comparative strength of title and possession; method of writing a document (*lekhya*); qualification of witnesses; description of the different kinds of ordeals;¹⁹⁵ recognition of the eight forms of marriage;¹⁹⁶ legal position of the twelve kinds of sons (viz., *aurasa*, *putrikā-putra*, *ksetraja*, *paunarbhava*, *kānīna*, *sahodha*, *gūdhotpanna*, *dattaka*, *krīta*, *apaviddha*, *upagata* and *śūdrā-putra*); laws of partition and inheritance, and of debt, mortgage and deposit; laws about joint-stock companies; settlement of disputes between masters and servants; laws about transgression of compact, about purchase and sale, about guilds and corporate bodies, and about boundary disputes; determination of the nature of punishment and

195 In chap. 328 there is mention of eight kinds of ordeals—

kośam dhatam visam cāgṇim udakam tapta-māsakam/
phālam ca tandulam caiva divyāny aṣṭau vidur budhāh// (verse 6).

196 The following lines (on the different forms of marriage, remarriage of married girls, etc.) are interesting —

prajāpatyas tathā daivo brāhmaś cāpi śubhās trayah//
gāndharvo rāksasaś caiva madhyamau parikīrtitau/
āsuraś caiva paśāca ārsaś caiva tathādhamah//
na te kāryāḥ prayatnena kadācid api kenacit/
āsurasya tathārsasya viśeso naiva vidyate//
śūlkam eva tato jñeyam alpam vā yadī vā bahu/
prāṇi-vikrayinah sarve narakam yānti mānavāh//
viśesena ca yah putram vikrīṇāti svakam narah/
narake vasatim tasya bahūn abda-gaṇān viduḥ//
mrte bhartari yā kanyā kevalam hasta dūṣitā/
sā ced aksata-yonih syāt punah samskāram arhati//
ity evam kecīd icchanti na tan mama matam dvijāh/
saptame hi pade vṛtte nānyam arhati sā patim//
vācā dattā tu yā kanyā mantraiś caiva na samskr̥tā/
anyasya sā bhaved deyā satī bhartari doṣinī//
naste mrte pravrajite klībe 'tha patite patau/
pañcasv āpatsu nārīnām patir anyo vidhīyate//

Chap. 329, verses 6b-14.

trīṇi varsāny upāsita kumāry rtumatī satī/
ukta-kālāt param kanyā vindate sadṛśam patim//

Chap. 329, verse 28.

The verse 'naste mrte pravrajite', as occurring in Visnudh II. 87, 11, reads 'patite 'patau'.

the amounts of fine in different kinds of crimes (viz., theft, murder, adultery, drinking of wine, killing of lower animals, defamation, criminal assault, etc.).—Chaps. 324-338 .

[Chaps. 324-338 abound in verses taken from the Vyavahāra-section of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. Some of the verses of these chapters have been taken from the Dharma śāstras of Manu, Nārada, Parāśara and others.]

Duties of vānaprasthas and yatis.—Chaps. 339-340.

[These two chapters contain verses of the Manu-smṛti; and the second has a few metrical lines from the Upaniṣads.]

Results of building new Viṣṇu-temples or repairing old ones, constructing images of Viṣṇu, serving Viṣṇu in various ways, singing his praise, and offering to him various things (including female slaves and dancing girls).—Chap. 341.

The sages' eulogy of Viṣṇu, and their vision of the universe in the latter's body. Praise of the Haṃsa-gītā.—Chap. 342.

[The colophon of chap. 342 is followed by the words 'haṃsa-gītā samāptā.']

Chaps. 343-348.—In glorifying Viṣṇu as extremely kind to his devotees, Mārkaṇḍeya narrates the stories of (a) Viṣṇu's favour to Garuḍa, although the latter, being offended with the former for assuring safety to a Nāga named Sumukha, boasted of his own capacity and reproached Viṣṇu as ungrateful, (b) Viṣṇu's birth as Vāmana to recover Indra's kingdom from Bali, and (c) king Vasu Uparicara's self-protection in the nether world by means of the Aparājitā Vidyā which was instructed to him by Bṛhaspati, and his winning of Viṣṇu's favour.

In these stories there are eulogies of Viṣṇu and Garuḍa and a description of the Vaiṣṇavī Aparājitā Vidyā.

Chaps. 349-354.—Glorification of Viṣṇu by means of the stories of

(a) Nārada, who went to Śveta-dvīpa in accordance with the advice of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, pleased Vāsudeva there by eulogising him and by taking to ekānta-bhāva, learnt from him about thousands of his past and future manifestations, and won Vāsudeva's favour by zeal-

ously worshipping him in accordance with the method described to him by Nara and Nārāyaṇa (chaps. 349-353), and

(b) a Sāttvata named Viśvaksena, who, being 'ekānta-bhāvo-pagata', violated the order of a Māheśvara and worshipped Narasiṃha, instead of Śiva, in a Śiva-linga, and whose life was saved from the hands of the Māheśvara by Viṣṇu himself who came out of the Śiva-linga by assuming the form of Narasiṃha (chap. 354).

Chap. 355.—The hymn (called Liṅgāsphoṭa) that was recited by Viśvaksena.

Conclusion of the Viśnudharmottara.

From the summary of the contents given above it is evident that the Viśnudharmottara is an ambitious work containing chapters on multifarious subjects. But it does not claim originality in all matters. There are indications which show that this work has more the character of a compilation than that of an original work.¹⁹⁷ It contains summaries of, and extracts and isolated verses from, some of the early works of the different branches of Sanskrit literature. For instance, it widely utilises the Rāmāyaṇa and incorporates a large number of verses from the Mahābhārata,¹⁹⁸ the Bhagavad-gītā¹⁹⁹ and the Upanisads.²⁰⁰ In its chapters on astronomy and astrology, it has verses from the works

197 For instance, see Viśnudh I. 1. 16—

tasmat tvam rāja-śārdūla prastum arho dvijottamān/
vaisnavān vividhān dharmān sarahasyān *sasamgrabān* //

198 For example, Viśnudh. III. 343-355 are based on the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śānti-parvan of the Mahābhārata, the verse 'sāmkhyam yogam pāñcarātram' (Viśnudh I. 74. 34 and II. 22. 133) is much the same as Mbh XII. 349. 1 and 64; and so on.

199 For verses borrowed from the Bhagavad-gītā see Viśnudh I 38. 10, 52, 5b-7a, 122. 9b-10a, 171. 10-11, 172 8, 20 and 33, and 190. 14 15, II 74. 23, 78. 28-34, and 82. 33; and so on.

200 Viśnudh III. 340 40 = Śvetāśvataropaniṣad 3.20 = Kathopaniṣad 1.2.20.

„ III 340.41 = „ 3.8

„ III. 340.42b-43a = „ 3.9

„ III. 340 43b-c = „ 4.6 = Mundakopaniṣad 3.1.1.

etc. etc.

of Garga, Vṛddha-garga, Parāśara and Bṛhaspati.²⁰¹ In Viṣṇudh. II. 154 (verses 18 and 22) Garga is said to have instructed king Vasu on the method of worshipping the Sakra-dhvaja (banner of Indra); in Viṣṇudh. II. 134-144 Vṛddha-garga speaks to Atri on various kinds of omens; and in Viṣṇudh. II. 159-161 Parāśara is said to have spoken to Gālava on the *mantras* of *chatra*, *śva* etc. as well as on *Ghṛta-kambala-śānti*. Viṣṇudh. II. 166-174, which constitute a distinct section called 'Pitāmaha-siddhānta' and have Brahmā and Bhṛgu as the interlocutors, most probably give the summary of a bigger work of some similar title. Viṣṇudh. III. 86-95 (on the building of temples) are said to have been based on an earlier work ascribed to Pitāmaha (Brahmā)²⁰² In its sections on *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*, the Viṣṇudharmottara refers to Manu as a law-giver on several occasions²⁰³ and utilises the language and contents chiefly of the *Manu-smṛti*,²⁰⁴

201 For instance, the verse 'mayūra-candrikābho vā', which Vallālasena found in his Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara, occurred in the work of Garga (see *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 17), and Viṣṇudh. I. 85. 27b-28a (udayāstamane bhānoḥ etc.) greatly resembled a verse of Garga (see *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 290-1); Viṣṇudh. II. 136. 1, 135. 6a and 7a, 137. 5b-6a, 11a, 7a, 6b and 7b-8a, and 141. 1 occurred in the work of Vṛddha-garga (see *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 416, 427, 429, 441, 442-3, 443, 444 and 563); Viṣṇudh. I. 85. 34b-35a, 26b-27a, 33b-34a, and 48b-49a, and III. 238. 2, 31, 27, 26, 28, 19 and 32 occurred in the work or works of Parāśara (see *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 66, 86, 90, 101, 516, 517, 526, 541 and 551); Viṣṇudh. II. 135. 6a and 7a, 156. 1-2 and 5, 137. 7a and 6b, 141. 1, and 134. 14-26 occurred in the work of Bṛhaspati (see *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 427, 429, 437, 442-3, 443, 563 and 743-4); and so on

202 Viṣṇudh. III. 86. 139—

prāsāda-lakṣaṇam idaṃ kathitaṃ samāsād
ālokyā pūrva-caritaṃ hi pitāmahoktaṃ/
śāstraṃ hitāya nara-sattama mānusāṇāṃ
dhāryaṃ tvayā tad atiyatna-pareṇa nityam//

203 Viṣṇudh. II. 72. 43-manur abravīt (=Manu-smṛti 8. 242).

„ II. 72. 48- itī svāyambhuvo'bravīt.

„ II. 72. 97- ...manur abravīt (=Manu-smṛti 8. 339)

204 The Viṣṇudharmottara (especially II. 61-131 and III. 226-342) has incorporated a large number of verses from chaps. 2ff of the *Manu-smṛti*, as the following list will indicate.

Yājñavalkya-smṛti,²⁰⁵ Nārada-smṛti,²⁰⁶ Viṣṇu-smṛti²⁰⁷ and Parāśara-smṛti.²⁰⁸ It also seems to have incorporated verses from the Smṛti-works

Viṣṇudh.	Manu-smṛti
II. 24.3	= 7.55.
II. 26.7	= 2.52.
II. 61.2a, 4a	= 7.115a, 116a.
II. 61.42a, 42b-45, 46-48	= 8.36a, 30-33a, 27-29.
II 61.62-63a, 64b-67 etc	= 7.131b-132, 133b-136. etc.
II. 65.37	= 8.26.
II 65.43b, 44a, 45, 46-47, 48-49, 50-51, 52-53, and so on	= 7.38a, 39a, 40, 43-44, 89-90, 82-83, 87-88, and so on.
II. 70.6	= 8.128
II. 70.8, 14b-15a } and so on	= 7.25, 18 and so on.
II. 72.5, 6-11, 12-13 and so on	= 8.138, 27-32, 34-35, and so on.

205 Viṣṇudh.	Yāj.
II 72. 180b	= II. 235a.
II 72. 182a	—cf II 224a.
II. 72. 182b	—cf. II.239a. (Yāj reads 'tripaṇo damah').
II. 72. 183, 184, 185, 186-7, 188, 189.	= II. 240, 279, 282, 295-6, 303, 306.

206 Viṣṇudh.	Nārada-smṛti
III 324. 3	= 1.2.
" " 13b	= 1.49a
" " 14b-17a	= 1.52-55a
" " 34b-35a	= 4.35b-36a.
" " 45	= 3.18
III. 325. 1	= 4.84
" " 2	= 4.85

Viṣṇudh.	Manu-Smṛti
II. 73.2	= 11.45.
II 73.7-12	= 4.209b-211a, 212a, 213-214a, 216b, 214b.
II. 73.14 etc.	= 4.215 etc.
II. 74.1, 3-11, 13-21 }	= 11.247-265.
II. 75.2a, 25a-b	= 5.59a, 103.
II. 79.1b-2a	= 5.123
II 85.11, 19	= 2.31, 36.
II. 86.1, 7	= 2.69, 52.
II. 87.15	= 3.21
II 130.3-32	= 6.1-28a, 29b-31
II 131.1-22, 24-63 } etc.	= 6.33-61, 63-97a etc.
III. 228.1	= 2.69
III. 230.12b-14	= 5.5a, 6a, 5b, 7
III 232. 1a, 2b etc.	= 5.59a, 61b. etc.

Viṣṇudh.	Yāj
II. 105.2-8a, 10b-11a, 10a, 12b-13a, 12a, 9b, 14-16, 17b-18b, 19-22, 23, 24-25. etc.	= I. 271-288a, 289b-290a, 191-2. etc.
III. 231.3a, 4b-5a, 6b-7 }	= I. 188a, 114, 186-7a.
III. 232. 6b-7a etc.	= III 23 etc.

Viṣṇudh.	Nārada-smṛti
III. 325. 3	= 4.90
" " 4	= 4.92.
III. 327. 1-4a	= 4.149-150, 151b-152.
III 328. 67b-68a	= 4.337.
" " 69 etc.	= 4.338. etc.

207 For instance, Viṣṇudh. I 142. 13b-14a (etāni śrāddha-kālāni etc.) is the same as Viṣṇu-smṛti 76. 2 (etāms tu śrāddha-kālān vai etc.)

For connections between the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Viṣṇu-smṛti as regards śrāddha, see W. Caland, *Altindischer Ahnenkult*, Leyden 1893, pp. 68 and 112 Cf also Abegg, *Der Pretakalpa*, pp 5ff

208 Parāśara-smṛti 4. 30 (naste mrte pravrajite etc.) is the same as Viṣṇudh.

of Devala²⁰⁹ and Brhaspati,²¹⁰ which are now lost. Viṣṇudh. III. 17-31 are clearly based on Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra, from which a large number of verses has been retained in these chapters.²¹¹ Similarly, the chapters on *citra-sūtra*,²¹² *āyurveda*, *basti-cikitsā*, *aśva-cikitsā* etc. must have been based on older works. In its chapters on *alamkāra* the Viṣṇudharmottara often refers to the opinions of ancient writers on poetics (purātana).²¹³ The stories of Lalitīkā (or Lalitā), Śāmbarāyanī and gajendra-moṣaṇa in Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 167 (verses 2ff.), 175-191 and 192-194 are undoubtedly derived from the same as given in Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 32, 27 and 67 respectively. In narrating these stories the Viṣṇudharmottara not only retains a large number of verses of the Viṣṇudharma but also introduces innovations not found in the

II. 87 11 and III 329 14; Parāśara-smṛti 3 39 (anātham brāhmanam pretam etc.) is the same as Viṣṇudh. II 76. 2, and so on,

209 For verses common to the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Devala-smṛti, see Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. 11. pp. 95-96

210 For instance, the verse 'ekādaśy astamī sasthī' is ascribed to Brhaspati in Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 47 but to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirnaya, pp. 190 and 300; the line 'brahmānam keśavam śambhum' is ascribed to Brhaspati and the Viṣṇudharmottara in the Dacca Univ. Mss of Raghunandana's Āhnikatattva; and so on.

Viṣṇudh.	Nāṭya-śāstra	Viṣṇudh.	Nāṭya-śāstra
III. 24.1a, 2a, 3b, 5a	= 8.16b, 20a, 22a, 24a	III. 27 2b-3a, 5b-6a, = 23 5, 10, 92b-93a,	
III. 24 6-7a	= 8 26a, 25b, 27a.	18b-19a, 21-23a, 102b-104, 97b,	
etc.	etc.	24b-25a, 22	99a, 108
		etc.	etc.
III. 25.1-2	= 8.38-39.	III. 29.36, 37a	= 13 13, 20a.
" " 3-4	—cf. 8.40-41.	etc.	etc.
" " 5a, 5b, 6b	= 8.42b, 44b, 46a.	III. 30.2b-3a, 4b-8a = 6.39, 42-45.	
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.
III. 26 1-3	= 9.4-5 and 6b-7a,	III. 31 2, 3, 11b	= 7.10, 9, 28a
" " 4	—cf. 9 8a.	" " 14a	—cf. 7.33a.
" " 5-9a, 10	= 9 8b-12, 14a, 15a	" " 54-56	= 6 77-83a.
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Viṣṇudh III. 17-31 may be used for solving the textual problems relating to the Nāṭya-śāstra.

212 The 'citra-sūtra' is mentioned in Dāmodaragupta's Kuttanimita, verse 123.

213 Viṣṇudh. III. 14. 7, 12 and 15.

latter. For instance, it identifies the river Devikā with Umā, wife of Hara,²¹⁴ elaborates Śāmbharāyanī's account with the mention of the names of many of Viṣṇu's manifestations, and says that two Gandharvas named Hāhā and Hūhū were transformed into the elephant and the crocodile by Devala's curse. So, there is no doubt that the Viṣṇudharmottara gives the later versions of these stories. It is probable that Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 169-170 (on Māndhātṛ's activities in his previous birth as a Śūdra) and 196 (on the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra) also are based on Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 82 and 69 respectively. It is needless to multiply examples. It is to be noted that the Viṣṇudharmottara does not utilise Varāhamihira's Brhatsaṃhitā, Bhāmaha's Kāvya-lamkāra, Daṇḍin's Kāvya-darśa, or any other work written later than 500 A. D. and that although the Viṣṇudharmottara is indebted to earlier authorities for many of its materials, it has not failed to improve considerably upon the borrowed portions by innovations of its own. For instance, in his Adbhutasāgara²¹⁵ Vallālasena quotes from the works of Garga, Vṛddha-garga, Parāśara and Bṛhaspati some verses which do not agree, as regards contents, with those of the Viṣṇudharmottara and the principles of dramaturgy, as laid down in the Viṣṇudharmottara, differ on some points from those of the Nāṭya-śāstra.

Of the various types of works known to it, the Viṣṇudharmottara gives us valuable information. It speaks of 'nṛtya-śāstra', 'gīta-śāstra', 'kalā-śāstra',²¹⁶ 'dhanurveda', 'hastyāyurveda', 'āśvāyurveda', 'vṛkṣāyurveda',²¹⁷ 'phala-veda',²¹⁸ 'sūda-śāstra'²¹⁹ etc. and mentions the four Vedas,²²⁰ the Vedāṅgas,²²¹ 'the Bhārata (i.e. the Mahābhārata) com-

214 Viṣṇudh. I. 167 15-18, and 207. 55-56.

215 See Adbhutasāgara, pp. 98, 236, 410, 429, 471, 559-560.

216 Viṣṇudh. III. 73. 49

217 Ibid., II. 91. 11, III. 297. 18.

'Vṛkṣāyurveda' is mentioned in Dāmodaragupta's Kuttanimata, verse 123.

218 Viṣṇudh. III. 73. 47.

219 Ibid., II. 24. 23, 'Sūda-śāstra' is also mentioned in Kuttanimata, verse 123.

220 Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 29-30, II. 22. 129-130; and so on.

221 Ibid., I. 74. 33, II. 22. 131-2.

posed by Dvaipāyana²²², the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki,²²³ the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras and the Pāsupatas,²²⁴ a Sūtra work (on hasti-cikitsā) written by Lomapāda, king of Anga,²²⁵ and the Nīti-śāstras of Brhaspati and Uśanas.²²⁶ Hence there is little doubt about the fact that the Sanskrit literature became enriched by various types of works even before the time of composition of the Viṣṇudharmottara.

A large number of chapters is found common to the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Matsya-p., as the following list will show.

Viṣṇudh.	Matsya-p.	Viṣṇudh.	Matsya-p.
I. 111-119	=Chaps. 195-203 respectively.	II. 39	=Chap. 212.
I. 145. 1-2, 4	=204. 2-3, 5.	II. 40	=213. 1-13, 17-18.
I. 146. 41b-59	=207. 24b-41.	II. 41	=Chap. 214.
I. 148-152	=Chaps. 115-119 respectively.	II. 66-70	=Chaps. 221-225 respectively.
I. 153; 154. 1-6a, 7	=Chap. 120.	II. 71. 1-3	=226. 1-3.
I. 226	=179. 2ff.	II. 72. 17b-200	=Chap. 227.
II. 24-28	=Chaps. 215-219 respectively.	II. 133-140	=Chaps. 228-235 respectively.
II. 36	=208. 3-21.	II. 142-144	=Chaps. 236-238 respectively.
II. 37	=Chaps. 202-210.	II. 163	=Chap. 240.
II. 38	=211. 1-13, 28.		

That as regards these common chapters the Matsya-p. is the borrower, can be proved definitely by a number of evidences, some of which are given below.

(i) The contents of Viṣṇudh. I. 129-156 are follows:—Chaps. 129-137 deal with Purūravas's love for Urvāṣī, chaps. 138-145 with śrāddha and the Pitr̥s, chaps. 146 and 147 with vṛṣa-laksana and vṛṣotsarga respectively, and chaps. 148-156 with Purūravas's penance

222 Ibid., I. 74. 23-28; III, 351. 49

223 Ibid., I 74. 37-39 (vālmikīnā tu racitam.../ rāmākhyānam...//); I 81. 26; III 351. 48 (mayā vālmikīnā kāryam kāvyam rāmāyanam tathā)

224 Ibid., I. 74 34; II. 22. 133, III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4.

225 Ibid., I 253 34-35.

226 Ibid., II. 6. 2.

in his previous birth for attaining extraordinary physical beauty. Of these, the last group of chapters (i.e. chaps. 148-156) begins thus:—

vajra uvāca—

caritaṃ budha-putrasya mārkaṇḍeya mayā śrutam/
 śrutah śrāddha-vidhiḥ punyah sarva-pāpa-pranāśanaḥ//
 dhenvāḥ prasūyamānāyāḥ phalam dāne tathā śrutam/
 kṛṣṇājina-pradānam ca vṛṣotsargas tathaiva ca//
 śrutvā rūpam narendrasya budha-putrasya bhārgava/
 kautūhalam samutpannam tan niamācaksva prcchataḥ//

(chap. 148, verses 1-3).

In these verses there is clear reference to the contents of chaps. 129-137 (on the story of Purūravas, son of Budha), chaps. 138-145 (on śrāddha), chaps. 146-147 (on vṛṣa-lakṣana and vṛṣotsarga), and chap. 130 (verses 3ff., in which Purūravas is said to have possessed uncommon physical beauty). Though in the printed edition of the Viṣṇudharmottara there is no chapter or chapters on 'prasūyamāna-dhenu-dāna' and 'kṛṣṇājina-dāna', this work was not originally bereft of chapters on these topics. In his Dānasāgara, pp. 531-532 Vallālasena ascribes to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' twenty-one metrical lines which deal with kṛṣṇājina-dāna and all of which occur in Matsya-p., chap. 206. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 704-5 and 705-7 Hemādri also ascribes to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' two complete chapters on 'madhyama-kṛṣṇājina-dāna' and 'mahā-kṛṣṇājina-dāna' respectively.

The Matsya-p., on the other hand, contains only the story of Purūravas's penance in his previous birth in chaps. 115-120 (which are practically the same as Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 148-153 and verses 1-7 of chap. 154) and deals with prasūyamāna-dhenu-dāna, kṛṣṇājina-dāna and vṛṣa-lakṣana as late as in chaps. 205, 206 and 207 respectively, but it does not contain any chapter on vṛṣotsarga. Yet the opening verses of chap. 115 are the same as those of Viṣṇudh. I. 148 quoted above. It is also to be noted that although in the Matsya-p. the story of Purūravas's love affairs does not immediately precede the story of his penance in his previous birth but occurs very briefly in chap. 24 and śrāddha is dealt with in chaps. 11-22, the opening verses of chap. 115 do not refer to the contents of the intervening chapters (25-114).

The Matsya-p. describes the characteristics of bulls (vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa) fully in the entire chap. 207, but this topic is dealt with partially in Viṣṇudh. I. 146. 41b-59 (which are the same as Mat. 207. 24b-41). Moreover, in the Viṣṇudharmottara this topic is begun abruptly with the line 'ṛṣabhaḥ sa samudrākhyah satataṁ kula-vardhanaḥ' (which really forms the second half of the verse 'śvetam tu jaṭharam yasya bhaver pṛṣṭham ca gopateḥ/ṛṣabhaḥ sa samudrākhyah satataṁ kula-vardhanaḥ//' as found in Mat. 207. 24). But this abrupt beginning and incomplete treatment of the above-mentioned topic in the Viṣṇudharmottara should not be taken to prove that the Viṣṇudharmottara borrowed its verses from the Matsya-p. As a matter of fact, the original Viṣṇudharmottara contained all those verses on vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa which are now found in Matsya-p., chap. 207. In his Dānasāgara, p. 115 Vallālasena ascribes to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' three verses on vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa which do not occur in Viṣṇudh. I. 148 but are the same as Mat. 207. 13-15.

(ii) The story of Purūravas in Matsya-p., chaps. 115-120 ends abruptly, whereas in the Viṣṇudharmottara it is continued through a few more chapters to its logical conclusion.

(iii) In Matsya-p., chap. 195 (which is practically the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 111), the second verse runs as follows:

mahādevena ṛṣayah śaptāḥ svāyambhuve 'ntare/
teṣāṁ vaivasvate prāpte sambhavaṁ mama kīrtaya//

This verse, as occurring in the Matsya-p., has no preceding story or statement to refer to, whereas in the Viṣṇudharmottara it occurs in chap. 111 of Khaṇḍa I and refers to Viṣṇudh. I. 110. 28.

(iv) A textual comparison between the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Matsya-p. shows that the latter work has adapted the above-mentioned chapters of the Viṣṇudharmottara to its own interlocutors often by using unsuitable words. For instance, for Viṣṇudh. I. 148.8 (purūravā madrapatiḥ karmaṇā kena bhārgava/babhūva karmaṇā kena kurūpaś ca tathā dvija//), Mat. 115.9 reads 'purūravā madrapatiḥ... pāṛthivah/babhūva... virūpaś caiva sūtaja//'; in Viṣṇudh. II. 24. 62 Puṣkara addresses Bhārgava Rāma as 'manuja-śārdūla' ('a tiger among the descendants of Manu, i.e. among men'), and this word ('manuja-śārdūla'), though not applicable to Manu himself, has been retained

in Matsya-p., chap. 215 (verse 88) in which Matsya speaks to Manu; and so on.

(v) The story of Sāvitrī in Visnudh. II. 36-41 naturally follows chaps. 33-35 (on the conduct and duties of chaste women, and the treatment they deserve from the king). But the Matsya-p., though containing this story in chaps. 208-214, has no chapters corresponding to chaps. 33-35 of the Visnudharmottara. Moreover, in chaps. 208-214 the Matsya-p. has a large number of additional verses which are not found in the Visnudharmottara.

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the Matsya-p. borrowed the above-mentioned chapters from the Visnudharmottara.

We shall now try to determine the date of composition of the Visnudharmottara.

This work is quite familiar with the Greek terms 'hibuka', 'kendra', 'lipta', 'sunaphā' etc.²²⁷ and mentions 'horā',²²⁸ 'dreskāṇa',²²⁹ and the names of the rāśis²³⁰ and week-days²³¹ in several places. By its mention of Mūlasthāna²³² as a place of Sun-worship as well as of the girdle called 'aviyāṅga',²³³ worn by the Sun-worshippers, it betrays

²²⁷ See Visnudh. II. 167ff

²²⁸ Visnudh. I. 83 47ff.; II. 168ff; III 96 97, and so on.

The occurrence of the term *horā* in two verses quoted by Varāhamihira from Garga shows that it came to be used by the Indians much earlier than the sixth century A.D., but there is no evidence to prove that it was used by them earlier than the end of the first century A.D.

²²⁹ Visnudh. II. 167ff., III. 96. 97.

²³⁰ Visnudh. I. 72. 11, 73 8ff., 84 1ff., and 94. 6ff., II. 18.11, II. 167ff.; III 319 38ff., and so on.

The total absence of the term *rāśi* in all early works down to the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the *rāśis* earlier than the second century A.D.

²³¹ Visnudh. I. 59. 2-5, and 60. 5; II 47 4, 50. 68, and 52 84 and 124; III 317. 16ff., and so on.

The earliest dated mention of a week-day has been traced in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D. (See Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89).

²³² Visnudh. III 121 12.

²³³ Visnudh. III. 67. 3.

its knowledge of the Persian elements in the method of worshipping the Sun. It utilises, as we have already seen, the language and contents of the Upanṣads, Mahābhārata, Bhagavad-gītā, Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra, the astronomical works of Garga, Vṛddha-garga, Parāśara and Brhaspati, the Dharmaśāstras of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Parāśara, and the Viṣṇudharma. By its description of 'Purāṇa' as consisting of four Pādas²³⁴ it points definitely to the Vāyu-p.²³⁵ which only claims to consist of, and is practically divided into, four Pādas, viz., Prakriyā, Upodghāta, Anuṣaṅga and Upasamhāra. In the story of Purūravas and Urvāśī, as given in chaps. 129-137 of Khaṇḍa I, it clearly betrays the influence of Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya.²³⁶ Viṣṇudh. I. 208 contains the description of the hurry and eagerness of women of Rājagṛha to have a glance at Bharata when the latter was entering that city. This description bears the unmistakable stamp of the influence of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa.²³⁷ Hence the Viṣṇudharmottara cannot be earlier than 400 A.D.

Again, the Viṣṇudharmottara has been profusely drawn upon by almost all the Smṛti-commentators and Nibandha-writers, viz., Bhava-

234 Viṣṇudh. III. 17 2b-3—

prakriyā prathamah pādah kathāvastu-parigrahaḥ/
upodghātānuṣaṅgau ca tathā samhāra eva ca/
catuspādam hi kathitam purāṇam bhṛgu-nandana//

The first two lines are the same as Vāyu-p. 4. 13. (The Vāyu-p. reads the second line as 'upodghāto'nuṣaṅgaś ca upasamhāra eva ca').

235 The Vāyu-p. and the Brahmānda-p. were originally the same

236 The similarity in ideas and expressions between the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Vikramorvaśīya will be evident from the following parallel passages.

(a) Viṣṇudh. I. 133 52.—Before leaving Urvāśī with Purūravas, Rambhā says to the latter :

... ..
jathā ceyam sakhi mahyam notkanthām kurute śubhā/
sakhi-janasya svargyasya tathā kāryam tvayānagha//

Cf. Vikramorvaśīya, Act III—citralekhā—tā jahā iam me prasahi
saggassa na ukkanthedi taha vaassena kādavā am.

(b) Viṣṇudh. I. 135. 26-33 (in which Purūravas vainly enquires for Urvāśī to beasts, birds and plants).—Cf. Vikramorvaśīya, Act IV.

237 Compare, for instance, Viṣṇudh. I. 208 10-21a with Raghuvamśa VII. 5-12.

deva, Viṣṇāneśvara, Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Vallālasena, Halāyudha, Devanabhaṭṭa, Hemādri, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Caṇdeśvara, Vidyāpati, Vācaspati-miśra, Govindānanda, Śrīnāthācāryacūdāmaṇi, Gadādhara, Raghunandana and others. Some of these Smṛti-writers have made their quotations under the title 'Viṣṇudharmottara', some of them (such as Bhavadeva and Viṣṇāneśvara) have done so under the name of 'Mārkaṇḍeya' (the speaker in the Viṣṇudharmottara),²³⁸ and the rest (such as Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Devanabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and others) have ascribed some of the quoted verses to

238. The verses of 'Mārkaṇḍeya' (the word 'mārkaṇḍeya' being often used in the masculine gender), quoted in the commentaries and Nibandhas, are, except in a very few cases, not found in the present Mārkaṇḍeya-p.

The facts that many of the verses ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' are found in the Viṣṇudharmottara wherein the sage Mārkaṇḍeya is the speaker, that the same verses are sometimes ascribed to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' in some places (viz., in Kālaviveka, pp 538 and 539, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III ii pp 379-380, and Varsa-kaumudī, p. 103, Tithi-viveka, pp. 6-7, and so on) and to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' in others (viz., in Mitāksarā on Yāj III, 289, Aparārka's com. on the Yāj, p. 429, Smṛti-candrikā, II, p. 620, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p 49, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III ii pp. 93 and 116, and so on), and that in some places (viz., in Kālaviveka, p. 265, Hāratalā pp. 19 and 29, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, pp 85-86 and 332, and so on) verses of the Viṣṇudharmottara are quoted with the words 'Viṣṇudharmottare mārkaṇḍeyah', show that 'Mārkaṇḍeya' to whom these verses are ascribed in the Nibandhas, is, in the great majority of cases, identical with the sage Mārkaṇḍeya, the speaker in the Viṣṇudharmottara. In those cases in which the verses ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' are not found in the Viṣṇudharmottara, the changes in the text of the latter are to be held responsible. As to the few cases in which the verses of 'Mārkaṇḍeya' are found in the Mārkaṇḍeya-p, it may be said that due to a confusion created by the similarity between the name of the sage and the title of the Purāṇa, verses of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. were sometimes wrongly ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' or *vice versa*. For instance, the verses 'ekabhaktena naktena' and 'śukla-paksasya pūrvāhne', which are ascribed to the 'Mārkaṇḍeya-p.' in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p 100 and III i p. 320 respectively but are not found in the present Purāṇa of the same title, are ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' (the word 'mārkaṇḍeya' being used in the masculine gender) in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi III. ii pp. 176 and 575 respectively. See also Aparārka's com. on the Yāj, p. 206, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 64, Smṛti-tattva, I, p 109 and II, pp. 88 and 95, and so on, wherein the former verse is ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya'.

‘Mārkaṇḍeya’ and the rest to the ‘Viṣṇudharmottara’. In his account of India Alberūnī refers to and draws upon the present Viṣṇudharmottara on many occasions, and most of these references and quotations have been traced by Buhler in the extant text of this work.²³⁹ The present Kālikā-p., which was written somewhere about Kāmarūpa not later than the first half of the eleventh century A. D., knows and mentions the present Viṣṇudharmottara in its encyclopædic character.²⁴⁰ So also

239 Ind Ant., Vol XIX, pp 381-410.

Alberūnī’s references to, and quotations from, the ‘Viṣṇudharma’ have been traced in the present Viṣṇudharmottara thus. —

Sachau, Alberūnī’s India,	Viṣṇudharmottara	Sachau, Alberūnī’s India,	Viṣṇudharmottara
I, p. 54	— cf. I. 81.28-29.	I, p 372	= I. 73.17-18 and 34-40
p. 216	= I 106.29-30.	p. 379	= I 73 21ff.
p. 218	— cf. I 120.2-3.	p 380	= I 73 24
pp. 241-242	= I. 106 1-11.	pp. 381ff	= I. 73.28ff.
p. 242	= I. 106.10-11	p. 386	= I. 81.2-3
p. 287	= I. 106 21-28.	p 387	= I 81.4-5
p 288	= I. 106.21-28	p. 398	= I. 82 1
p. 291	= I. 106 31-32	pp. 398-9	— cf I. 73.20ff
p. 321	= I. 81.1-2		
pp. 328-9	= I. 73.14-16.	II, p 2	= I. 80. 1-9.
p. 331	= I. 73.13.	p. 3	= I. 81.23-27, and I 82 6-7
p 332	= I. 73.39	p. 21	= I 72.19b-23
pp. 344-5	= I 83.3-21, and 50.62.	p. 64	= I. 106 12-13.
p. 353	= I. 72 17b	p. 65	— cf I. 78.1-2.
p. 354	= I 72.18b-19a	p. 102	= I. 29.16b-17
p 358	= I. 83.3-9.	pp. 140-1	= I. 106.34-41
p 360	= I. 73 37ff		

240 In Kālikā-p. 91. 70-71a Mārkaṇḍeya says.

*‘viṣṇudharmottare pūrvam mayā rabasi bbāsitam/
rāja-nītim sadācāram veda-vedāṅga-saṃgatam//
rahasyam satatam viṣṇor vīkṣadhvam dvija-sattamāh/’*

See also Kālikā-p. 92. 1-2, in which the sages say to Mārkaṇḍeya :

*samkṣepataḥ sadācāro viśeso rāja-nītisu/
śrutas tvad-vacanād aurvah saḡarāya yathoktavān//
viṣṇudharmottare tantre bāhulyam sarvataḥ punaḥ/
drastavyas tu sadācāro drastavyās te prasādataḥ//*

The questions of the date and provenance of the present Kālikā-p will be discussed fully under ‘Kālikā-p.’ in Vol. II of the present work.

does the present Nāradiya-p. (I. 94), which refers to the contents of the Viṣṇudharmottara and takes it to be the second part of the Viṣṇu-p. According to Śūlapāṇi, Bālaka and Śrīkara knew the Viṣṇudharmottara and utilised its contents in their respective works.²⁴¹ The spurious Agni-p. (now available in print), which was written, most probably in western Bengal, during the ninth century A.D., has incorporated a large number of chapters and verses from the Viṣṇudharmottara, as a comparison of Agni-p., chaps. 151-172, 218-237, 245 ff. and 259-272 with Viṣṇudh. II, chaps. 80 ff., 76ff., 21ff., 16ff., 15, 124ff., 105ff. and 159ff. will show. In most of these chapters the Agni-p. has retained Puskara as the speaker, but in a few Agni appears in his place ; sometimes the Agni-p. rewrites the verses briefly by retaining as much as possible the language of the Viṣṇudharmottara; and although, following the Viṣṇudharmottara, the Agni-p. retains the old order of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā of Bharanī in all other places, it replaces this order with the new one in verse 8 of chap. 219 in spite of the mention of the old order in the corresponding passage (viz., II. 22. 20-24) of the Viṣṇudharmottara. The Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra-bhāṣya, ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya,²⁴² names and draws upon the Viṣṇudharmottara as well as the Viṣṇudharma. From all these references, quotations and common passages it is evident that by the middle of eighth century A. D. the present Viṣṇudharmottara attained great

241 Durgotsava-viveka, p. 16—

‘astamī navamī-viddhā navamī cāstamī-yutā/
ardha-nārīśvara-prāyā umā-māheśvarī tithih / /’

ity āśvinādhikāriya-*viṣṇudharmottara-vacana-mātra-darśinā* bālakenātra visaye pūrvadine navamī-kṛtyam yugmād iti yad uktam

‘bhagavatyāḥ praveśādi-*visargāntāś ca yāḥ kriyāḥ*’

ityādi-vacanena virodhāt taddheyam/ *viṣṇudharmottara-vacanam tu sandhi-pūjā-visayam iti śrīkara-miśrāḥ*/

According to P. V. Kane, Bālaka ‘flourished before 1100 A.D.’ and Śrīkara ‘must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A.D.’ and probably in the ninth century.—See Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, I, pp 283-4 and 266-8.

242 See Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra-bhāṣya, p. 114, and pp 22, 30, 136. According to S K Belvalkar, the ascription of this commentary to Śaṅkarācārya ‘is more or less debatable.’—See Belvalkar, Shree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy, pp. 218-9

popularity as a highly authoritative work in all parts of India. It has already been mentioned that the Matsya-p. has borrowed a large number of chapters from the Viṣṇudharmottara. Hence the Viṣṇudharmottara must have been written not later than 600 A. D. On p. 460 of his Kālaviveka Jīmūtavāhana ascribes to the 'Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma' a few verses which have Mārkaṇḍeya and Vajra as the interlocutors and are the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 161. 1-8; and on p. 464 he quotes two more verses from a 'Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta,' but these two verses do not occur in the Viṣṇudharmottara. The titles of these two works as well as the nature of the quoted verses show that the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta, which must have preceded Jīmūtavāhana by a few centuries, were distinct works written on the basis of the Viṣṇudharmottara. Hence the Viṣṇudharmottara must have preceded the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta by a few centuries, otherwise it could not be recognised as an authoritative work at the time of composition of these two works. In his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti Mādhavācārya ascribes to 'Kātyāyana' a verse which mentions the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' along with the name of Mārkaṇḍeya as the speaker and refers to the contents of Viṣṇudh. I. 140. 19a.²⁴³ We do not know definitely who this Kātyāyana was. He might have been identical either with the author of the Chandoga-parīṣiṣṭa or with that of a Dharma-śāstra which is now lost. Whoever this Kātyāyana might have been, he could not be later than 600 A. D. It has already been said that the Viṣṇudharmottara has not utilised Bhāmaha's Kāvya-lamkāra and Daṇḍin's Kāvya-darśa. These two works mention a much greater number of Alamkāras and a considerably smaller number of Prahelikās and thus indicate the comparatively

243 Mādhavācārya's com on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii. p. 413—
apsu agnaukaranam jala-samīpe śrāddha-karaṇe veditavyam/

tad āha kātyāyanah—

'viṣṇudharmottare vāpsu mārkaṇḍeyena yah smṛtaḥ/
sa yadāpām samīpe syāc chrāddham jñeyo vidhis tadā//'

This verse refers to Viṣṇudh. I. 140. 19a which runs as follows:
anāhitāgniś caupasade agny-abhāve tathāpsu vā/

early origin of the Viṣṇudharma.²⁴⁴ Nay, there is ample evidence to prove definitely that both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin knew the Viṣṇudharmottara and used it in their respective works.²⁴⁵ In describing the method of building temples in chaps. 86-95 of Khaṇḍa III the Viṣṇudharmottara makes no mention of the three styles of architecture popularly known as Nāgara, Draviḍa and Vesara, of which the first two developed into distinction after the Gupta period. According to some commentators, Brahmagupta wrote his Sphuṭa-brahma-siddhānta in 628 A.D. on the basis of the 'Paitāmaha-siddhānta' as found in the Viṣṇudharmottara. This view of the commentators, which most probably owed its origin to some tradition as well as to the lines common to Brahmagupta's work and the Viṣṇudharmottara,²⁴⁶ seems to be highly plausible because of the fact that the Viṣṇudharmottara does not refer to or utilise the works of Varāhamihira or any other later author on astrology and astronomy. As a matter of fact, we have not been able to find any work, written later than 500 A.D., which has been utilised in the Viṣṇudharmottara. Viṣṇudh. I. 9 gives the names of the tribes living in the different parts of India but does not mention the Hūnas. On the other hand, it speaks of the Śakas and the Yavanas as living in the south-western and western parts respectively. The Viṣṇudharmottara believes in 'thousands of manifestations' (prādurbbhāva-sahasrāṇi) of Viṣṇu and gives shorter or longer lists of these (including Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛ-varāha, Vāmana, Nara-siṃha, Bhārgava Rāma, Dattātreya, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Haṃsa, Aśva, Mayūra etc.) in numerous places, but it does not refer to any group of 'ten incarnations', nor does it mention the Buddha anywhere except

244 A study of the history of Sanskrit Poetics shows that the number of Alamkāras was multiplied in later times, but the Prāhelikās, which were once very widely popular, came to lose their importance as literary compositions and experienced a gradual decrease in their number.

245 For a detailed treatment (in Bengali) of the influence of the Viṣṇudharmottara on Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin see Our Heritage, II, 1954, pp. 375-404, and III, 1955.

246 For instance, the line 'sarvarksa-parivartais ca nāksatra itī cocyate' is ascribed to the Brahma-siddhānta in Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 741 but to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirnaya, p. 63, Varsa-kaumudī, p. 224, Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 740-1, and so on.

in III. 351 (verse 54) which is most probably spurious. It should be mentioned here that the Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu not very much earlier than 500 A.D.²⁴⁷ The Viṣṇudharmottara names the Nakṣatras on many occasions, and it does so invariably in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharanī,²⁴⁸ which, as the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the latest books of the Mahābhārata,²⁴⁹ and Varāhamihira's Br̥hat-saṃhitā indicate, held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

From all the evidences adduced above it is clear that the *Viṣṇudharmottara* cannot be dated earlier than 400 A.D. and later than 500 A.D. Bühler also is of opinion that 'the date of its composition cannot be placed later than about 500 A.D.'²⁵⁰ This early date of the Viṣṇudharmottara is fully supported by its non-Tantric character as well as by the frequent use of the word 'prādurbhāva' instead of 'avatāra' which occurs only in two places (viz., in I. 172. 56 and III. 353.8).

Although the numerous cross-references in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*²⁵¹ indicate that the above-mentioned general date may be taken to be that

247 See Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*, pp. 41-42.

248 *Viṣṇudh* I. 59. 6-15; 82. 22-33; 83. 13-21, 91. 11-23; 95 54-99; 99. 11-24; 101. 5-14; 102. 11-23, 142. 37 (kṛttikādi-bharanyantam); II. 22. 20-24, III. 317. 20-27; 318 1-32, and so on.

249 *Mbh* XIII, chaps. 64, 89 and 110.

250 *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, 1890, p. 408.

According to M. Winternitz, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* was 'compiled between 628 and 1000 A.D.' (see Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p.580) Stella Kramrisch is of opinion that this work 'cannot date earlier than the 5th century A.D.' and later than Śaṅkarācārya (See *Journal of the Department of Letters*, XI, p. 3).

251 For instance, *Viṣṇudh*. I 111 1 refers to I. 110. 28; I. 129. 1 refers to I. 128. 32; I. 148. 1-3 refer to the contents of I 129-147, I. 148. 3a refers to I. 130. 3ff, I. 165. 1 refers to I. 163 8, I. 173. 1 refers to I. 170 13; I. 197 1-3 refer to I, chaps. 128ff., chap. 110 and chaps. 117-121; II. 1. 1-2 refer to I. 201-269; II. 1. 6 refers to I. 70; II. 1. 7 refers to I. 72-73; II. 99 1 refers to II. 95-97, II. 99. 2 refers to II. 53; III. 60. 2 refers to III 47; III. 63 2 refers to III. 46; III. 67. 1 refers to III. 56 and 52; III. 70 1 refers to III. 50 and 51; III. 71. 2 refers to III, chaps. 56, 52, 47 and 50, III. 73.18 refers to III. 77. III. 73. 24 refers to III. 82; III. 83.5 refers to III. 25; III 83.8 refers to

of the great majority of its chapters, there are certainly some extracts and even complete chapters which are spurious. For instance, *Viṣṇudh.* I. 105.5-20 (in which Pulastya speaks to a Brahmin named Dālbhya on *Aśūnya-śayana-dvītiyā*) and I. 146. 1-41a (in which Pulastya's speech to Dālbhya on the ways of release from rebirths—*samsāra-mukti-hetu*—is followed by an interlocution between Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira) *must have been added at a comparatively late date*. These verses begin abruptly with the words 'dālbhya uvāca', although nothing is said in any of the preceding verses about Dālbhya and Pulastya; and their subject-matter is quite unconnected with those of verses 1-4 of chap. 145 and verses 41b ff. of chap. 146. As a matter of fact, they create a serious breach in the topics of the chapters and verses preceding and following them. The spurious character of these verses is further shown definitely by the facts that they occur neither in the *Matsya-p.* (although it contains verses 1-2 and 4 of chap. 145 and verses 41b-59 of chap. 146 of *Viṣṇudh.* I) nor in the *Ms* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* noticed by H.P. Shastri²⁵² and that their subject-matter is not mentioned in *Viṣṇudh.* I. 148. 1-3 which refer to the topics dealt with in the preceding chapters (129-147). As the *Viṣṇudharma* contains a good number of consecutive chapters dealing with the same topics and also others and having the same interlocutors as those of the verses mentioned above,²⁵³ it is undoubted that somebody took most of these verses from the *Viṣṇudharma*, adapted them to the interlocution between Vajra and Mārkaṇḍeya, and then inserted them into the *Viṣṇudharmottara* after the *Matsya-p.* had plagiarised chapters and verses from it.

Similarly, *Viṣṇudh.* III. 215-220 (on *Sugati-dvādaśī-vrata*, *Sugati-paurnamāsī-kalpa*, *Santānāṣṭamī-vrata*, *Asi-dhārā-vrata*, *Ananta-dvādaśī-*

III. 26ff.; III. 85. 57 refers to III. 76, III. 101 and III. 116 1 refer to the '*Samkara-gītā*' in *Khanda 1*; and so on.

252 Shastri, *Notices*, II, pp 164-172, No. 190.

In this *Ms*, chap 145 deals with '*śrāddha-deśānukīrtana*', chap. 146 with '*vr̥sa-laksana*', and chap. 147 with '*vr̥sotsarga-vidhi*'. These chapters correspond respectively to chaps. 144, 146 (verses 41b to the end) and 147 of the printed ed of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and do not deal with *Aśūnya-śayana-dvītiyā* etc

253 For the chapters of the *Viṣṇudharma* in which Pulastya speaks to Dālbhya and for their contents, see above under '*Viṣṇudharma*'.

vrata and Brahma-dvādaśī-vrata) must be later additions. These six chapters have Pulastya and Dālbhya as the interlocutors and form a distinct section ending with the words 'samāptaḥ pulastya-dālbhya-saṁvādaḥ'. They do not occur in the Matsya-p., and of them the first three and the fifth agree with Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 4, 5, 7 and 8 respectively, in which Pulastya speaks to Dālbhya. There is no doubt that the Viṣṇudharmottara derived these chapters from the Viṣṇudharma.

As regards the provenance of the Viṣṇudharmottara it can be said that *this work must have been compiled either in Kashmir or in the northernmost part of the Punjab*. The evidences supporting this view are as follows.

(i) The law of inheritance (with regard to the right of the father and the son to the property inherited from the grandfather), as given in the Viṣṇudharmottara,²⁵⁴ is the same as that of the Mitākṣarā school.

(ii) The incidents of most of the stories given in the Viṣṇudharmottara have been located in the western part of Northern India, especially in or about the land of the five rivers.²⁵⁵

(iii) Camels have been mentioned in connection with donation etc.²⁵⁶

(iv) Viṣṇudh. III. 314 mentions different kinds of rice, of which Rakta-śālī (which is a variety of Śālī rice) is said to be the best.

(v) In giving an account of the distribution of tribes in India, the Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 9) divides this country into several parts, viz., central, eastern, south-eastern, southern, south-western, western, north-western, northern and north-eastern. The localities, comprised in these parts, show that the author of the Viṣṇudharmottara must have lived somewhere about the land of the 'five rivers'.

254 III. 330. 19-20a—

paitāmahe tv asvatantraḥ pitā bhavati dharmataḥ/
pitāmahārjite vitte pituh putrasya cobhayoh//
svāmyaṁ tu sadrśaṁ jñeyaṁ putraś ced gunavān bhavet/

255 Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 20, 148, 162, 164, 167-170, and so on.

256 Viṣṇudh. III. 301. 32, and 312. 5.

(vi) The rivers Sarayū, Yamunā, Ikṣumatī, Sarasvatī, Dīṣadvatī, Devikā, Sindhu, Vitastā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvati, Vipāśā and Śatadru, especially the last seven, have been mentioned and praised as divine on many occasions.²⁵⁷ For instance, the Devikā²⁵⁸ and the Vitastā²⁵⁹ have been identified with 'Umā, wife of Śaṃkara', and the Irāvati, Śatadru and Sarasvatī have been called 'devī'.²⁶⁰ As a matter of fact, the author of the Viṣṇudharmottara seems to have created occasions for praising these rivers whenever possible.

(vii) In Viṣṇudh. I. 162. 61-65 the meeting places of the following rivers have been described as highly sacred:—(a) Gangā and Sarayū, (b) Gangā and Śoṇa, (c) Gangā and Ikṣumatī, (d) Gangā and Yamunā, (e) Gomatī and Sarayū, (f) 'Kauśikī and Gaṇḍakī, (g) Vipāśā and Devabradā, (h) Vipāśā and Śatadru, (i) Sindhu and Irāvati, (j) Candrabhāgā and Vitastā, and (k) Sindhu and Vitastā.

(viii) In Viṣṇudh. I. 162. 33-35 the confluence of the Candrabhāgā and the Tausī (a small river in Kashmir) is praised as follows:—

sā kadācin mayā sārḍham tauṣim nāma nadim yayau/
tasyāś ca saṃgamah punyo yatrāsic candrabhāgayā//
candrabhāgā saric-chreṣṭhā yatra sītāmalodakā/
mahādeva-jatā-jūṭe gangā nīpatitā purā//
candreṇa bhāgato nyastā candrabhāgā smrtā tatah/
tat-kāla-tapta-salilā tauṣī tatrārka-nandinī//

(ix) The sacred lake Bindusaras has been mentioned more than once²⁶¹ and said to have been created by the drops of water of the Gangā when she was falling on Śiva's head.²⁶²

257 Viṣṇudh. I 11; I. 69. 11-13; I. 164 23-26; I. 167; I 170 4ff.; I. 207. 40-65, I. 215. 44-52, II 22. 158, 163 and 168-171, III. 125. 14ff.

258 Viṣṇudh. I. 11. 10-11; 167. 15-16; and 207 55-56.

259 Viṣṇudh. I 164, 23-24

260 Viṣṇudh. I 11. 15, 16 and 18.

261 Viṣṇudh. I. 19 19; I. 80. 18; II. 22. 159; and so on

262 Viṣṇudh. I. 19. 18-19—

tasyāh patantyā ye kecid bindavah ksītim āgatāh/
taih kṛtam pṛthivī-pāla tadā bindusarah śubham//

(x) Viṣṇudh. I. 139 states that Viṣṇu assumed the form of Varāha, raised the earth after killing Hiraṇyākṣa, and stationed himself on the Varāha-parvata (in Kashmir), and that it was at this place that the custom of offering *śrāddha* to the deceased was first introduced by him in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.

(xi) A study of the Viṣṇudharmottara shows that the author or authors of this work had an intimate acquaintance with the geography of Kashmir as well as of the northern part of the Punjab. In Viṣṇudh. III. 125. 10 Kashmir has been mentioned as a seat of Viṣṇu,

From the evidences adduced above it is highly probable that the Viṣṇudharmottara was composed somewhere in Southern Kashmir. Buhler and Winternitz also take it to be a work of Kashmir.²⁶³

The Viṣṇudharmottara is avowedly a Vaiṣṇava work claiming to deal with the 'various duties of the Vaiṣṇavas'.²⁶⁴ It belongs to the Pāñcarātras and is not 'a production of the Bhāgavata sect' as Bühler takes it to be.²⁶⁵ It recommends the Pāñcarātra method of Viṣṇu-worship, adds great importance to the due observance of 'pañca-kāla',²⁶⁶ holds the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras in high esteem,²⁶⁷ and extols one who honours, or makes gifts to, those who are versed in these scriptures.²⁶⁸ According to the Viṣṇudharmottara,²⁶⁹ Nārāyaṇa is the highest deity and Supreme Brahma (param brahma). He is the original source of both matter and spirit. For the sake of creation he takes to guṇas and appears as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Hara. Viṣṇu, who carries on the work of protection with the help of Lakṣmī, exists in different parts of the universe by assuming different forms through māyā. In the world of mortals he resides with Lakṣmī in Svetadvīpa

263 Ind. Ant., XIX, 1890, p. 383. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, p. 580.

264 Viṣṇudh. I. 1. 16 and 23—vaisnavān vividhān dharmān; I. 1. 19—viṣṇudharmān sanātanaṁ.

265 Ind. Ant., XIX, 1890, p. 382.

266 Viṣṇudh. I. 6. 40; I. 61-65; and so on.

267 Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 34; II. 22. 133; III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4; and so on.

268 Viṣṇudh. I. 58. 10 and III. 155. 6.

269 For an idea of Vaiṣṇava theology, see especially Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 2, 6, 52, 58, 63 (verses 34-40), 139 (verses 19-22), and so on.

which is said to be situated in the ocean of milk lying on the east of the mountain Meru. The Viṣṇudharmottara calls Nārāyaṇa 'caturātman' and believes in the doctrine of Vyūha as expounded in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.²⁷⁰ It states that by persistently worshipping Viṣṇu with absolute devotion (ekānta-bhāva) according to the Pāñcarātra method, one can pass to Śvetadvīpa after death, reside there for long in a divine form, and then attain final emancipation by entering Vāsudeva after passing successively through the Sun (āditya-maṇḍalam), Brahmā, Aniruddha, Pradyumna and Saṃkarṣaṇa. It lays special stress on image-worship²⁷¹ and recommends to the Viṣṇu-worshippers both the Vedic *mantras* (viz., sāvitṛī etc.) and the sectarian ones ('oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya' and 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' of eight and twelve syllables respectively) but says that women and Sūdras are allowed to use the latter *mantras* only.²⁷² As it regards Viṣṇu as 'sarva-devamaya' and 'sarva-rūpadhara',²⁷³ it recommends the vows and worship of other deities also and thereby tries to infuse the worshippers of these deities with Vaiṣṇava ideas. It looks upon Kṛṣṇa as one of the manifestations of Viṣṇu and seems to add little importance to cowherd Kṛṣṇa (of Vṛndāvana), who is mentioned very briefly on two occasions only.²⁷⁴ It adds special importance to the Pāśupatas, whose scriptures it mentions along with those of the Pāñcarātras in more places than one,²⁷⁵ but it subordinates Śaṃkara to Nārāyaṇa. So, it seems that the Pāñcarātras had the Pāśupatas as their most powerful rivals.

The Viṣṇudharmottara is practically free from Tantric influence. It advises the Vaiṣṇavas to worship Viṣṇu and other deities in images, pictures, altars, pitchers (full of water), or lotuses (drawn on the

270 For clear exposition of the doctrine of Vyūha, see F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnyā Saṃhitā, pp. 27ff.

271 Viṣṇudh. I. 65. 32—

sākāre baddha-laksas tu śūṇyam śaknoti cintitum/
anyathā tu sukaṣṭam syān nirālambasya cintanam//

See also Viṣṇudh. III. 108. 26-27.

272 Viṣṇudh. I. 155. 27-28; I. 157. 16-17; I. 163. 8-11, and so on.

273 Viṣṇudh. III. 126. 3.

274 Viṣṇudh. III. 85. 71ff., and 106. 117-125.

275 Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 34; II. 22. 133-4; III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4; and so on.

ground)²⁷⁶ and recommends the use of Vedic or Purāṇic *mantras* or both in vows and worship. But it does not recognise the Tantric 'yantra' as a medium of worship, nor does it prescribe the use of Tantric *mantras*. The Tantric *bījas*, found in some of the *stotras* and *kavacas* contained in the Viṣṇudharmottara,²⁷⁷ are most probably due to the influence of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, which the Viṣṇudharmottara follows in form and ideas.

Although the Viṣṇudharmottara decries the Pāṣandas as extremely unholy and detestable, it seems to have been influenced by Buddhism. It recommends the worship of Aṇḍika, Dharma and Vyoman and describes their images.²⁷⁸ By its recognition of Mayūra,²⁷⁹ Hamsa²⁸⁰ etc. as manifestations of Viṣṇu and by its statement that whenever there is decline of *dharma*, Vāsudeva is born, according to necessity, among gods, men, Gandharvas, serpents, birds, or others and behaves like those creatures among whom he is born,²⁸¹ the Viṣṇudharmottara reminds us of the Jātaka stories.

The Viṣṇudharmottara is written mostly in verse, but some of its chapters, or parts thereof, are written in prose.²⁸² Regarding the language of this work it may be said that like many other Purāṇas it contains a number of ungrammatical forms. For instance, it has 'vartatā' for 'vartamānena' (I. 1.14), 'yatrastham' for 'yatra tiṣṭhantam' (I. 4.38), 'tatrastham' for 'tatra tiṣṭhantam' (I. 6.58 and 61), 'sandhyā-saha' for 'sandhyayā saha' (I. 26.8), 'prathame' for 'prathamam' (I. 139.1), 'duhitām' for 'duhitaram' (I. 252.8), 'patnayah' for 'patnyah' (III. 67.15a and III. 103.21), and so on.

276 For the different mediums of worship see Viṣṇudh. II. 90 9, II. 153 6, II. 158. 3, and so on. For 'padma', see Viṣṇudh. II. 44. 17ff., II. 47. 26ff., II. 50. 20ff. and 77ff., and II 54 4.

277 See Viṣṇudh. I, chaps 137, 196, 238, and so on.

278 See Viṣṇudh III, chaps. 84, 77 and 75.

279 Viṣṇudh. I. 188. 7 and 9.

280 Viṣṇudh. I. 180. 8; I. 190. 19; III. 118. 7, III. 119. 9; and so on.

281 Viṣṇudh. I. 38 10-13a and I. 172 8-10.

282 See Viṣṇudh I 237 (partly); II. 166-174 (Pantāmaha-siddhānta); III, chaps. 6, 18-19, 32, 36, 95 (partly), 97-101, 109-117, 344 (partly), 346 (partly), 350 (partly), 352 (partly), and 355 (partly).

3. THE NARASIMHA-PURĀNA

The present Narasimha-purāna,²⁸³ which is also called Nṛsimha- (or Nārasiṃha-) purāṇa, is one of the oldest and most important of the extant Vaiṣṇava Upapurānas. It begins with a salutation to Narasimha and states that once, in the month of Māgha, some Veda-knowing sages came with their disciples to Prayāga from different

283 Edited by Uddhavācārya and published by Gopal Narayan & Co, Bombay. Second edition, Bombay 1911.

This is a very careless edition based on three Mss which have been referred to simply as क, ख and ग, but of which no information or description has been given by the editor.

In this edition, the chapter immediately following chap 10 is called eleventh at the beginning but twelfth at the end. As a matter of fact, chaps 11 and 12 have been combined without any demarcation, though Ms ग says that chap 12 begins from verse 54.

Though I am fully conscious of the fact that no serious chronological deduction should be based on this worthless edition, the absence of any better, or even a second, edition of this Purāna has compelled me to utilise it here. I have, however, consulted a number of Mss of this work and have not used any evidence which is not supported at least by most of these Mss.

For Mss of this Purāna see

(1) Mitra, Notices, III, pp. 1-5, No 1020

[This Ms, which consists of 63 chapters and was found at Navadvīpa, is written in Bengali characters and dated Śaka 1567. It begins as follows:—

om namo nrsimhāya/
 tapta-hātaka-keśāgra-jvalat-pāvaka-locana/
 vajrādhika-nakha sparśa divya-simha namo'stu te//
 nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayorah-paripatad-asrg-arunīkṛta-gātrah/
 himakara-gīrī iva gairika-gātro naraharī aharahar' avatu sa hy asmān//
 himavad-vāsinah sarve munayo veda-pāragāh/
 trikālajñā mahātmāno naimisāranya-vāsinah//
 &c &c

It ends thus:—

netrair mārtaṇḍa-candais tribhir anala-śikhā nyagvahadbhiḥ pradīptah/
 pāyād vo nārasiṃhah kara-khara-nakharair bhīṣṇa-daiṭyaś ciradyah/
 kim kim simhas tatah kim nara-sadrśa-vapur deva citram grhītā
 naivam dhik konvajīved drutam upanayatām so'pi satyam hariśah/
 cāpam cāpam nakhāṅgam jhatitī daha daha karkaśatvam nakhānām
 ity evam daiṭya-nātham nija-nakha-kulīśair jaghnivān yaḥ sarosāt//

parts of India (viz., Himālaya, Naimiṣāranya, Arbudāranya, Puskarāranya, Mahendra mountain, Vindhya mountain, Dharmāranya, Daṇḍakāranya, Śrīśaila, Kurukṣetra, Kaumāra-parvata, Pampā etc), had their bath in the holy Ganges, and saw Bharadvāja in his hermitage. When,

iti śrīnarasiṃhapurāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-moksa-pradāyini para-brahma-svarūpiṇa idam ekam suniṣpannam dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā narānyadevāt param asti kimcit/ śrīnarasiṃhapurāṇam samāptam//63//

The list of its contents, as given by Mitra, shows that it lacks the story of Dhruva as occurring in chap. 31, verses 1-97 of the printed edition; the story of Prahlāda as given in chaps. 40 (verses 60b-61b), 41-43 and 44 (verses 1-13) of the printed edition; the description of the characteristic evils of the Kali age as given in chap. 54, verses 8-61 of the printed edition; as well as chaps. 64 (on the interlocution of Nārada and Pundarika on the glory of Nārāyaṇa) and 68 (on the glorification of the Narasiṃha-p) of the printed edition.

It also seems to lack the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras on the bank of the Revā for carrying away Draupadi by force (as given in chap. 33, verses 15-85 and chap. 34, verse 1 of the printed ed.); and the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra* 'om namo nārāyanāya' (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.).

It inserts a chapter on the praise of holy places (tīrtha-praśamsā) in Ayodhyā immediately after the chapters on Rāma-prādurbhāva.]

(2) Aufrecht, Bod Cat, pp. 82-83, Nos. 138-139.

[(i) No. 138, which consists of 62 chapters and is written in Devanāgarī script, begins as follows :—

nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya etc
 tapta-hāṭaka-keśānta jvalat-pāvaka locana/
 vajrādhika-nakha-sparśa divya siṃha namo'stu te//
 pātu vo narasiṃhasya nakha-lāṅgala-koṭayah/
 hiraṇya-kaśīpo vrakṣa aśṛkaddamamārunāḥ//
 homabaddhāgninaḥ sarve munayo veda-pāragāḥ/
 trikālajñā mahātmāno naimiṣāranyavāsinaḥ//

&c

&c.

but its end and final colophon are not given by Aufrecht.

Aufrecht's description of its contents shows that it not only lacks, like Mitra's Ms, the stories of Dhruva and Prahlāda and the description of the characteristics of the Kali age, but also the topics on Yoga (as found in chap 61 of the printed ed.), and the enumeration of tīrthas (as found in chaps 65-67 of the printed ed.).

It also seems to lack the story of the killing of the demons Bahuroman

after mutual greetings, they were engaged in 'talks about Kṛṣṇa' (kṛsnāśritāh kathāh), there arrived a Sūta named Lomaharsana, who was a disciple of Vyāsa and was versed in the Purānas (purāṇajña). After Lomaharsana had been duly received by the sages, Bharadvāja thanked him for having narrated to them the Saṃhitā named Vārāha (i.e. the Varāha-purāna) during the great sacrifice instituted by Śaunaka and then wishing to hear from him the 'Paurāna-saṃhitā named Nārasimha' put to him the following questions for detailed treatment:

- (1) Whence did this universe, with its moving and stationary objects, originate? Who preserves it? And where will it go after dissolution?
- (2) What is the extent of the earth?
- (3) What acts please Narasimha?
- (4) How does creation begin, and how does it end?

and Sthūlāsiras by the Pāndavas, and the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra*.

The story of Rāma-prādurbhāva is given in this Ms in five chapters as against six (viz., 47-52) of the printed ed. (See also Dacca Univ Ms No 2713, described below, which also gives in five chapters the contents of chaps 47-52 of the printed ed.)

It does not insert any chapter on the praise of holy places in Ayodhyā.

(1) No 139, which is written in Devanāgarī, is generally the same as the above Ms but contains chaps 65-67 (on tīrthas) of the printed ed.]

(3) Eggeling, Ind Off Cat, VI, pp. 1211-14, Nos 3375-79.

[(1) Of these five Mss, the first (Cat No. 3375), which was copied in Devanāgarī script in 1798 A.D., consists of 67 chapters. It begins with the verses 'tapta-hāraka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vidalita- (v l -vilikhita-) -ditī-tanayorah-' (with slight variations in readings) and ends thus —

nrsimhāsya-mahādeva-pūjite bhakta-vatsale/
loka-nāthe prabhau tena trilokya-pūjito bhavet//
yo narasimha-vapur āsthītaḥ purā
hitāya lokasya dīteḥ sutam yudhi/
nakhaḥ sutikṣṇair vidadāra vairiṇam
divaukasām tam pranamāmi keśavam//

iti śrīnṛsiṃhapurāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kūma-mokṣa-pradāyini nāma sattīrtha-varnana nāmādhyaḥ//

It lacks chaps 64 and 68 of the printed ed

As Eggeling does not give the contents of the chapters, it is not known

- (5) What are the four Yugas? How are these to be reckoned, and what are their characteristics?
- (6) What will be the condition of people during the Kali age?
- (7) How is Narasiṃha to be worshipped, and what places, mountains and rivers are sacred to him?
- (8) How were the gods, Manus, Vidyādhara and others first created?
- (9) Which kings were sacrificers, and who attained the highest success?

The Sūta consented to narrate the 'Nārasiṃha Purāṇa.' Consequently, he saluted his teacher Vyāsa, through whose favour he learnt definitely whether this Ms also lacks the stories of Dhruva and Prahlāda, the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras, the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra*, and the description of the evils of the Kali age. It is also not known whether it inserts a chapter on holy places in Ayodhyā.

(ii) The next two Mss (Cat. Nos. 3376-77), which also are written in Devanāgarī and of which the second one lacks the first Adhyāya, are practically the same as the preceding Ms. Their concluding verses are (with some variations in readings) the same as those of the Ms noticed by Mitra, and their colophon is as follows:—

iti śrīnārasiṃhapurāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini para-brahma-svarūpiṇi idam ekaṃ suniṣpannam dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā/na vāsudevāt param asti kiṃcit/ /iti nārasiṃha-purāṇam samāptam//

(iii) The fourth Ms (Cat. No. 3378) is written in Devanāgarī by different hands. It was copied in about 1500-1600 A.D., its last five folios being supplied in 1789 A.D. It begins with the verse 'nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayoraḥ-'. In the modern portion of this Ms the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra* (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.) and the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarika on the glory of Nārāyaṇa (as occurring in chap. 64 of the printed ed.) are given.

(iv) The fifth Ms (Cat. No. 3379—on Rāma-prādurbhāva) is written in Devanāgarī and divided into six sections named after the six Kāṇḍas (ending with the Laṅkā-kāṇḍa) of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is practically the same as chaps. 47-52 of the printed ed.]

(4) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 29-30 (Ms No. 36) and pp. 184-5 (Ms No. 298). The second Ms has been numbered again as 304.

the 'Purānas,' and then began to deal with the five Purāṇa-topics (viz., primary creation, secondary creation, etc.) by way of answering all the

[(i) Ms No. 36 consists of 63 chapters and is written in Bengali characters. It is 'not old'. It begins with the verses 'tapta-hātaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vilasita-diti-tanayorah-' and ends thus

prasanne deva deveśe sarva-pāpa-ksayo bhavet/
paksinah pāpa-baddhās te muktīm yānti parām gatim//
nakhaḥ sutikṣṇair vṛiddadāra varinam
divaukaśām tam pranamāmi keśavam//
vyāsrghbhūdbhinnaśvaptprthulalītalatācchādītā kintvamārgah/
pātālam prāpta-pādah prakharatara-nakha-śrotaso nārasimbah//
kara-khara-nakharaiḥ bhinnā-vṛtyāś cīram vah//
kim kim siddhas tat kinvah sadṛśa-vapumetava citram grhīto
nevādhikah so'pi jīvedratamapanayatām sopi nityam hariśah/
cāpam aśaraganair daśarjaghnivān yah sa rosate//

iti śrīnaraṣimhapurāṇe trisastitamo'dhyāyah samāptam naraṣimha-purāṇam//
Like Mitra's Ms and like the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713 described below, this Ms lacks, besides chaps. 41-43 and 68 of the printed ed., the following portions of the latter Nar 15 7b-16; 16. 1-4a; 31. 1-97, 32 20b-21; 33 1-4a and 15-85, 34 1, 40 60b-61a, 44 1-13, and so on.

(ii) Ms No 298 (or No 304) is an old one written in Bengali script and consisting of 67 chapters. It begins with the verse 'tapta-hātaka-keśāgra' and ends with the chapter dealing with the 68 holy places sacred to Viṣṇu (vaiṣṇavāstasasti=chap 65 of the printed ed.) It lacks chaps. 41-43 and 66-68 of the printed ed. and also many others like the immediately preceding Ms and the Dacca Univ Ms No 2713 described below]

(5) Shastri, ASB Cat, V, pp. 711-13, Nos. 4076-81

[(i) No 4076—It is written in Bengali script and dated Śaka 1617. It consists of 64 chapters, of which the 63rd chapter is named 'Tīrtha-yātrā-praśamsā' (=chap 66 of the printed ed.) The Catalogue gives us no information regarding the contents of the different chapters

(ii) No. 4076A—It is written in Bengali characters and dated Śaka 1586. No information regarding the number of its chapters or their contents is given by Shastri.

(iii) Nos 4077-81—Of these five Mss the first is written in Kashmiri and dated Samvat 1898, the second is written in Nāgara of the 18th century, and the remaining three are written in Bengali script. Of these remaining three Mss, the first is dated Śaka 1623 and the third is dated Śaka 1639.

The numbers of chapters of these five Mss or their contents are not mentioned in the Catalogue]

questions with the narration of various relevant stories. So, the present Narasimha-p. deals with the following topics:—

Glorification of Narasimha (also called Viṣṇu, Hari, Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, etc.) by identifying him with Nārāyaṇa, the eternal Brahma.

(6) Keith, Ind Off Cat, Vol. II, Part 1, p 916 (Nos. 6616-18)

[(1) No 6616.—It is written in Grantha characters of about 1866-67 A.D. and consists of 61 chapters. Its beginning is very defective, and it ends with the verse 'yo nārasimham vapur āsthitaḥ purā'. Its colophon runs as follows.—iti śrinarasimhapurāṇe ekasastitamo'dhyāyah/śrīlakṣmanārasimhārpaṇam astu//harī om/kara-kṛtam aparādham ksantum arhanti santah/

(ii) No 6617.—It is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali characters of about 1800 A.D. It begins with the same verses as those of Eggeling No. 3375

(iii) No. 6618.—It deals only with geography and is not divided into chapters. It corresponds to chaps 30 and 31 (verses 48-112) of the printed ed. and lacks the story of Dhruva as found in chap. 31, verses 1-97 of the printed ed.]

(7) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos 2713, 323 and 284A.

[(1) Ms No 2713, which was collected from Vaidyaśātri in the district of Hooghly, is written in Bengali characters and consists of 98 folios, of which fol. 1 is damaged and fol 2 is mutilated at the left side. It contains 63 chapters and is dated Śaka 1567. It is fairly correct. Like Mitra's Ms, it begins with the verses 'tapta-hāṭa-a-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti tanayorah', and ends thus

prasanne deva-deveśe sarva-pāpa-ksayo bhavet/
prakṣiṇa-pāpa-bandhās te muktim yānu parām punah//

yo nārasimham vapur āsthitaḥ purā
hitāya lokasya dīteḥ sutam Yudhi/
nakharīḥ sutikṣṇair vidadāra varinam
divaukasām tam pranamāmi keśavam//

vyājṛmbhad-bhinna-bhāsvat-prthu-lalita-satācchādītārkendu-mārgah
pātāla-prāpta-pāda-prakhara-nakha-protā-śeśāhī-bhogah/
netrair māranda-caṇḍais tribhūḥ anala-śīl hām udvadbhūḥ pradiptah
pāyād vo nārasimhaḥ kara-khara-nakharair bhinna-daiṭyaś ciraḍyah//
kim kim simhas tataḥ kim nara-saurśa-vapur deva citram grhito
naivam dhīk ko nu jīvet drutam upanayatām sopi satyam harīṣah/
cāpam cāpam na kḥadgam jhatiti dāha dāha karkāśatvam naklānām
ity evam daiṭya-nātham nija-naḥ ha-kulīśair jaghnivān yahi sarosāt//
iti śrinarasimhapurāṇe ādye dharmaṁārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini parambrahma-
svarūpini idam ekam suniṣpannam dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā/ na vāsudevāt param

Description of the origin of the cosmic egg (aṇḍa) from Brahma (i.e. Nārāyaṇa) according to the Sāṃkhya system; Viṣṇu's presence as Brahmā in this egg for creation. Division of time into nimeṣa, kāṣṭhā, kalā, muhūrta, ahorātra (day and night), pakṣa (fortnight), māsa (month), *ayana*, varṣa (year), *yuga* and *kalpa*; and measurement of

asti kṛṇcīt śrīnaraṣiṃhapurānam samāptam/ śrī-rāma-cakravartīnaḥ pustakam
idam/ śrī-gopāla-śarmanah svāksaram idam// śubham astu śakābdāḥ 1567//
terikha 23 jyaisthaḥ// astamyām śukla-pakṣe tu guru-vāre samāptaś cāyam
granthah//

The corresponding chapters in this Ms and the printed ed. are the following

Ms	Printed ed.	Ms	Printed ed.
Chaps 1-29=Chaps 1-29 respectively.		Chap. 49	=Chap. 54, verse 7 ; chap 55.
Chap 30 =Chaps. 30 and 31 (verses 98-113).		Chap. 50	=Chap 56.
Chap. 31 =Chap. 32.		Chap 51 (except about 25 additional verses on selection of flowers and leaves for Viṣṇu- worship)	=Chap. 57 (verses 1-7).
Chap. 32 =Chap. 33 (verses 1-14); chap. 34 (verses 2-55).		Chap. 52	=Chap. 57 (verses 8-30)
Chaps. 33-37=Chaps. 35-39 respectively.		Chap 53	=Chap 58 (verses 1-16).
Chap. 38 =Chap 40 (except verses 60b-61b) ; chap. 44 (verses 14-43)		Chap. 54	=Chap. 58 (verses 17-38).
Chaps. 39-44=Chaps 45-50 respectively.		Chap. 55	=Chap. 58(verses.39-115).
Chap. 45 =Chaps. 51-52.		Chaps. 56-59=Chaps. 59-62 respectively.	
Chap 46 (on holy place in Ayodhyā) = x		Chap. 60	=Chap. 63 (verses 1-9 and 119b-122)
Chap 47 =Chap. 53		Chaps 61-63=Chaps. 65-67 respectively	
Chap. 48 =Chap. 54 (verses 1-6).			

The above table shows that this Ms lacks the following sections of the printed ed. :—

chap 31, verses 1-97	—	—on the story of Dhruva ;
chap. 33, verses 15-85 ;	}	—on the story of the killing of the demons Bahuroman and Śhūlaśiras by the Pāṇḍavas ;
chap. 34, verse 1		
chap. 40, verses 60b-61b ;	}	—on the story of Prahlāda ;
chaps. 41-43 ;		
chap. 44, verses 1-13		
chap. 54, verses 8-61		—on the characteristic evils of the Kali age,

these divisions with respect to men, Pitr̥s, Manus, Brahmā etc. Brahmā's origin from the lotus in Viṣṇu's navel; origin of Rudra from Brahmā's rage; Brahmā's creation of Dakṣa and his wife, from whom Svāyambhuva Manu was born. (—Chaps. 1-3). Origin of the ten

chap. 63, verses 10-119a	—	—on the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled <i>mantra</i> ;
chap. 64	—	—dealing with the interlocution between Nārada and Pundarika on the glory of Nārāyana;
chap. 68	—	—on the glorification of the Nara-simha-p

On the other hand, the printed edition lacks chap 46 (on holy places in Ayodhyā) and about 25 verses (on the selection of leaves and flowers for Viṣṇu-worship) of chap. 51 of the Ms.

This Ms deals with the story of Rāma-prādurbhāva in five chapters (viz., 41-45) as against six (viz., 47-52) of the printed ed, chap. 45 of the former consisting of chaps. 51-52 of the latter.

The agreement between this Ms and that described by Mitra is very close, and as both these Mss were copied in Śaka 1567, they are either based on the same original or derived from the same archetype.

(ii) Ms No. 323, which was procured from Ulā in the district of Nadia, is written in Bengali characters and consists of 131 folios, of which fols 37-40 (containing chaps. 19-27, and verses 1-16 of chap 28 of the printed ed) are missing and fol. 131 is wrongly numbered 139. It contains 64 chapters and is dated Śaka 1588.

It begins and ends with the same verses (though with occasional variations in readings) as the preceding Ms, and its final colophon (viz., *iti śrī-narasimha-purāṇe ādye dharmārtha-moksa-pradāyini parambrahma-svarūpini idam eham sunispannam dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā/na vāsudevāt param asti kimcit narasimha-purāṇam samāptam/śubham astu śakābdāḥ 1588/haraye namaḥ govindāya namaḥ*/) also agrees very closely with that of the latter. (It should be mentioned here that the colophon of its final chapter, which is almost the same as its final colophon, runs thus.—*iti śrī-narasimha-purāṇe ādye . na vāsudevāt param asti kimcit prathamodhyāyaḥ*/).

This Ms lacks the same sections of the printed ed as the preceding Ms. It also contains, like the preceding Ms, a chapter (viz., chap 47 on holy places in Ayodhyā) and about 50 lines (on the selection of leaves and flowers for Viṣṇu-worship) in chap. 52, which do not occur in the printed ed.

Thus, this Ms seems to have been derived from the same archetype as the

sages Marīci, Atri, Aṅgīras etc. from Brahmā's mind; Brahmā's creation of Śatarūpā, who was given in marriage to Manu, creation by the sages except Nārada who was given to nivṛtti-dharma; creation by Rudra; creation by Dakṣa; descendants of Dakṣa's daughters. (—Chaps. 4-5). Description of the saṃsāra-vṛkṣa (tree of rebirths) which causes delusion of the mind; praise of jñāna, Viṣṇu-worship and meditation on Viṣṇu-Brahma as the means of getting rid of all sufferings brought on by rebirths, method and praise of muttering the eight-syllabled

preceding Ms The difference in the number of chapters in these two Mss is due to the fact that the story of Rāma-prādurbhāva is given in the preceding Ms in five chapters as against six (viz., chaps 41-46) of the present one

(iii) Ms No 284A, which was procured from Nalāhātī in the district of Burdwan, consists of 121 folios and is written in Bengali script It is dated Śaka 1742 and contains 53 chapters, of which chaps. 14-53 are not numbered

It begins with the verses 'nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya', 'tapta-hātaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayorah-', and ends thus:—

imam stavam yah pathate sa mānavah prāpnoti viṣṇor amitātmakam hi tat//
iti śrī-narasimha-purāṇe dharmārtha-kāma-moksa-pradāyini param-brahma-
svarūpini vaisnavāsta-sasti-nāmādhyāyah//

asya śrī-rājasimhasya prakṛtyālingito hariḥ/

rādhā-mohana-rāyasya prīto bhavatu sarvadā//

yugma-śruty-aśva-candrāṅkita-śaka-mite bhāskare taita-yāte

natvālekhin murāreh kajanu-yuga-samam pāda-yugmam surārcyam/

śrī-rādhā-mohanākhyā-ksīṭpa-naraharer nārasimham purāṇam

gotrād evānvavāya-prabhava-kṛta-mahāyatna-santāna āśu//

In this Ms, chap 53 consists of chaps 57 (verses 8-20) and 65 of the printed edition. In verses 1-16 of chap 53 of this Ms (which correspond to verses 8-20 of chap. 57 of the printed ed) King Sahasrāṇika asks Mārkaṇḍeya to describe to him the duties of the four castes and orders of life (varnāśrama-dharma) Consequently, Mārkaṇḍeya begins to report what Hārīta, being requested by some sages to speak on 'varnāśrama-dharma', 'yoga-śāstra' and 'viṣṇu-tattva' (cf bhagavan sarvva-dharmmajña sarvva-dharmma-pravarttaka/ varnānām āśramānāṁca dharmmān prabrūhi śāśvatān/samāsād yoga-śāstantu yam dhyātvā mucyate narah/visnu-tattvam muni-śreṣṭha tvam hi nah paramo guruh/), said to them on these topics But in these verses Hārīta is found only to introduce his subject by briefly narrating the origin of the four castes and the place fit for their residence and to say nothing on Varnāśrama-dharma etc On the other hand, in verses 17ff. of this chapter (which corresponds to chap. 65 of the printed ed) Sūta, being requested by Bharadvāja, names the 68 places

mantra 'om namo nārāyaṇāya' for the purpose. (—Chaps. 16-18). Enumeration of Āditya's 108 names (including Sambhu, Tvaṣṭr, Kapila, Mṛtyu, Hari, Haṁsa, Prataṛdana, Taraṇi, Mahendra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Agni etc.) as mentioned by Viśvakarman (chap. 20). 'Short' genealogical lists of the kings of the Solar and the Lunar race, the former ending with Budha (v.l. 'Buddha' in some Mss), son of Suddhodana, and the latter with Kṣemaka, son of Naravāhana and grandson of Udayana and Vāsavadattā (chaps. 22-23). Accounts of the past, present and future Manus and Manvantaras (chap. 24). History of the prominent kings of the Solar and the Lunar race (*vaṁśānucarita*), especially of those who worshipped Narasiṃha and performed sacrifices

sacred to Viṣṇu. Hence it is sure that in the original Ms from which our present one was copied, verses 1-16 of chap. 53 were followed by chapters on Varnāśrama-dharma, Yoga and Viṣṇu-tatva, i.e. by chaps. 57 (verses 21-30—on the duties of Brahmins), 58-60 (on the duties of the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras, as well as of the students, householders, forest-hermits and *yatis*), 61 (on Yoga), 62 (on the Vedic procedure of Viṣṇu-worship) and 63 (verses 1-9 and 119b-122—on the popular method of Viṣṇu-worship) of the printed ed. It is most probably due to the inadvertence of the scribe that these intervening chapters and verses have been omitted in our present Ms.

As, like the other two Mss, it lacks the following sections of the printed ed., viz.,

chap. 31, verses 1-97	—on the story of Dhruva,
chap. 33, verses 15-85	—on the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Śhūlaśiras,
chap. 40, verses 60b-61b, chaps. 41-43, chap. 44, verses 1-13	} —on the story of Prahlāda,
chap. 54, verses 8-61	
	—on the characteristic evils of the Kali age,

we may assume that the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.) and the interlocution between Nārada and Pundarikā on the glory of Nārāyaṇa (as given in chap. 64 of the printed ed.) were wanting in the original Ms from which our present one was copied.

(It should be mentioned here that the corresponding chapters of the Dacca University Ms on the one hand and the printed ed. on the other, differ not only in readings but also occasionally in the numbers of verses. For instance, after verse 31 of chap. 5 the Dacca University Ms have 24 metrical lines which are not found in the printed ed.)]

(chaps. 25-29). Geography of the earth (chap. 30). Glorification of performance of duties towards parents and husband (chap. 14). Glorification of Brahmīns and of service rendered to them (chap. 28). Results of giving various articles (chap. 30). Method of worship of Gaṇeśa (chap. 26). Glorification of Narasiṃha-worship as well as of the different kinds of service rendered to Narasiṃha and his temple (viz., construction and sweeping of the temple and besmearing it with cow-dung; bathing the image with pure water, milk, curd, honey etc. or with *mantra*, offer of various articles; recitation of hymns of praise; presentation of flags marked with the figure of Garuḍa; songs, musical concerts, or theatrical performances etc. held for Narasiṃha's pleasure, removal of the flowers etc. with which Narasiṃha has been worshipped; and so on.—Chaps. 32-34). Sins arising out of crossing the flowers

(8) Mitra, Bikaner Cat., pp. 207-8, No. 452

[This Ms is written in Nāgara and consists of only 41 chapters (so far as their number, given by Mitra in connection with the description of their contents, shows) The corresponding chapters of this Ms and the printed ed are the following —

Ms	Printed ed	Ms	Printed ed.
Chaps. 1-29 = Chaps. 1-29 respectively.		Chap. 33 = Chap. 35	
Chap. 30 = Chaps. 30; 31 (verses 98-113).		Chaps. 34-41 = Chaps. 36-39, 40 (except verses 60b-61b),	
Chap. 31 = Chap. 32		44 (verses 14-43);	
Chap. 32 = Chaps. 33 (verses 1-14),		45-47.	
34 (verses 2-55) -			

So this Ms, which ends after dealing with only a few of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, is necessarily incomplete. It lacks the stories of Dhruva, Prahlāda, and the Pāṇḍavas who killed the demons Bāliroman and Sthūlāsiras for carrying away Draupadī by force.]

(9) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7151-53, Nos. 10548-53.

[Of these Mss, the first (No. 10548) consists of 64 chapters and is written in Devanāgarī. It begins with the verse 'tapta-hātaka-keśāntarjvalat-' and ends with the verse 'yo nārasimham vapur āsthitaḥ purā'. Its colophon is as follows: *iti śrīman-narasimha-purāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini para-brahma-svarūpa-nirūpane catuḥsastitamo 'dhyāyah*. The contents of its different chapters are not given in the Catalogue.

No information regarding the beginnings, ends and contents of the other Mss is given by Sastri.]

etc. with which Viṣṇu has been worshipped (chap. 28). The methods of performing lakṣa-homa and koṭi-homa for the good of the village or the town or the country in which these are performed (chaps. 34-35). Method of consecration of images of Viṣṇu (chap. 56). The Vedic and the popular (sarva-hita) method of Narasiṃha-(or Viṣṇu-) worship (chaps 62-63).²⁸⁴ Description of the evils of the Kali age (chap. 54).²⁸⁵ Duties of the four castes and orders of life (varṇāśrama-dharma—chaps. 57-60).²⁸⁶ Description and praise of *yoga* which is to

(10) Chakravarti, Vangiya Sāhitya Parisat Cat., p 72, No. 1432.

[It contains chaps 1-60 and is complete]

(11) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 202.

[One of the two Mss is complete and is written in modern Kāśmīrī script, while the other deals with Lakṣmi-nṛsiṃha-sahasra-nāma.]

(12) Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 337 and 338

(13) Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar, pp. 224 and 248.

(14) Lewis Rice, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg, p. 72.

(15) Burnell, Classified Index, p 188.

(16) Haraprasad Shastri, Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal, p. 29

[This Ms is written in Maithīlī script].

(17) Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 51, No. 1084.

(18) M Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. ii, pp 1612-14, Nos. 2345-47 (complete in 62 chapters).

284 The mediums of worship are the following:—fire, heart (hr̥daya), sun, altar and image. (Nar. 62. 5-6. Some Mss read 'apsv agnau' for 'ato'gnau')

285 Regarding the conduct of people of the Kali age this Purāṇa says that there will be an intermixture of castes, women will become unruly and licentious, Brahmavādins will drink wine, the members of the higher three castes will disregard the rules of *dharma*, serve the Śūdras, enjoy widows and Śūdra women, and take food from the Śūdras, people will decry Hari and will not care to remember his name, Śūdras will become pseudo-ascetics (pravrajyā-linginab) and preach religious doctrines, these Śūdras as well as many flowers among the twice-born will turn Pāṣaṇḍas, Brahmins will be eager for receiving gifts, and the Bhiksus will teach their students with a view to earning their livelihood.

286 In enumerating the duties of the members of the four castes and orders of life this Purāṇa says that a Kṣatriya king should try to attain victory through fair means, that the Śūdras should serve the twice-born, follow agriculture for earning their livelihood, and hear the Purāṇas from Brahmins, that a twice-born

be practised by one who belongs to the fourth order of life (chap. 61). Enumeration and praise of rivers²⁸⁷ and holy places²⁸⁸ sacred to Viṣṇu (chaps. 65-66). Praise of certain qualities of the mind (chap. 67). Mention and praise of a few Vratas (viz., Eka-bhakta, Nakta, Sauranakta, Agastyārgha-dāna, etc. — chap. 67). Praise of the Narasimha-purāṇa (chap. 68).

In connection with these topics the following stories have been introduced in this Purāṇa :

The story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya from Mitra and Varuṇa when the latter saw Urvaśī in a lake called Paundarikā in a forest in Kurukṣetra (chap. 6); the story of Mārkaṇḍeya who, being destined to die at the age of twelve, worshipped Viṣṇu, according to Bhṛṅgu's advice, with the twelve-syllabled *mantra* (om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya) at Bhadravata on the bank of the river Tuṅga-bhadrā, with the result that even Death had no influence on him, and when Death and his assistants went to Yama to report how, in their attempt to bring Mārkaṇḍeya to the abode of Yama, they had been beaten back by the Viṣṇu-dūtas, Yama reproached them for their conduct towards the Viṣṇu-dūtas, and praised Viṣṇu (also called Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa) as the chastiser even of himself (chaps. 7-12); the story of Yama, who, though repeatedly tempted by his passionate sister Yamī to incest, did not agree to her proposal and was thus able to attain divinity (chap. 13), the story of a Brahmacārin named Deva-śarman who turned a wandering mendicant after his father's death, began to live at Nandigrāma in Madhyadeśa after visiting numerous holy places, became proud of his occult power by being able to reduce to ashes, by an angry glance, a crow and a crane which were carrying

should not put on red or blue clothes, and that a teacher should not teach his students during the Mahānavamī, Bharanī-dvādaśī, Akṣaya-tṛtīyā and Māghī Saptamī.

287 Viz, Vitastā, Kāverī, Payosnī, Vipāśā, Śivanadī, Gomatī, Sarasvatī, Carmanvatī, Godāvarī, Tungabhadra etc.

288 Viz., Kokāmukha, Pāndya-sahya, Śālagrāma, Gandhamādana, Kubjāgāra, Gandhadvāra, Sakala, Sāyaka, Puskara, Kaserata, Mahāvana, Halāngara, Daśapura, Cakra-tīrtha, Devadāru-vana, Kumāra-tīrtha, Ādhya, Śūkara, Māhismatī, Gayā etc.

away his rag, chanced to meet Sāvitrī, the devoted, and consequently omniscient, wife of a pious and learned Brahmin named Kaśyapa, and was reproached by her for his pride as well as for his neglect of duties to his mother and forefathers (chap. 14); the story of a learned Brahmin, who, after his wife's death, visited numerous holy places, turned a *yati* at the advice of Narasimha (who warned him that one, who does not belong to any order of life, is not favoured by him), and attained salvation after death (chap. 15); the stories of the birth of the Aśvins and the Maruts, said to have been summarised from those told respectively by Vāyu and by Śakti-putra²⁸⁹ (i. e. Parāśara) in the 'Vaiṣṇavākhyā Purāṇa' (chaps. 19-21); the story of Ikṣvāku, who, considering renunciation to be the best way of Viṣṇu-worship, went to the hermitage of Gālava and others after eulogising and worshipping Gaṇeśa according to Vasiṣṭha's instructions, practised severe penance there, and muttered the twelve-syllabled *mantra* 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya', with the result that Brahmā revealed himself before king Ikṣvāku, told him how, being directed by a voice from the air, he himself could experience Viṣṇu by worshipping this god as well as by performing his own duties, and gave instructions to Ikṣvāku, who accordingly returned to his capital, did his duties as a householder, worshipped the images of Ananta and Mādhava given to him by Brahmā, and attained the region of Viṣṇu (chaps. 25-26), the story of Śāntanu who, though worshipping Narasimha according to the method learnt from Nārada, once passed over Narasimha-nirmālya (i. e. the followers etc. with which Narasimha was worshipped) and was thus disabled from mounting his divine chariot but who regained his power by clearing the remnants of food of Brahmins for twelve years in Kurukṣetra (chap. 28); the story of Indra's son who used to steal flowers from the garden of a florist named Ravi and was disabled from mounting his chariot in consequence of passing over

289 The printed ed. reads 'śakti-putrena' (see Nar. 19.5), but the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713 (fol. 27a) and 284A (fol. 34b) as well as a few others read 'śakti-putrena'. In the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 323, the folios (37-40), containing chaps 19-27 and verses 1-16 of chap. 28 of the printed ed., are lost. The readings ('śakta-putrena' and 'śalpa-putrena') given by the Sanskrit College (Calcutta) Mss are corrupt.

Viṣṇu-nirmālya, placed by the florist near the garden according to Narasimha's instructions, but who got rid of his disability and went to his heavenly residence after clearing the remnants of food of Brahmīns for twelve years in Kurukṣetra (chap. 28); the story of Dhruva's attainment of high position among the stars and planets through Narasimha's favour attained by means of Viṣṇu-worship as well as by muttering the twelve-syllabled *mantra* 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' (chap. 31), the story of the demons Sthūlaśiras and Bahuroman, who disguised themselves as ascetics on the bank of the Revā with a view to carrying away Draupadī, and of whom the former was killed by Bhīma, and the latter, when chased by Arjuna, took the form of a four-armed and yellow-robed being with a conch-shell, disc etc. in his hands and narrated to Arjuna how in his previous birth as a Brahmin of ill repute he swept the floor of a Viṣṇu-temple and lighted a lamp there for enjoying the wife of a Brahmin, how being beaten to death by the city-guards he attained heaven and remained there for a long time, how he was reborn as king Jayadhvaja of the Lunar race and rendered service to the Viṣṇu-temple, and how after death he enjoyed various pleasures in the regions of Indra and Rudra and was cursed by Nārada to become a demon on his way to the Brahma-loka (chap. 33), the stories of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu (viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma,²⁹⁰ Balabhadra,²⁹¹ Kṛṣṇa,²⁹² and Kalki²⁹³) including the story of Prahlāda (chaps. 36-54), the story of Śukra's

290 In connection with the Rāma-story it is said that being ordered by Sugrīva the monkeys searched for Sitā in different places, viz., Kāśmīra, the eastern countries, Kāmarūpa, Kośala, Sapta-konkanakas, etc (Nar 50 20-21), and that Rāma, before his decisive fight with Rāvana, muttered the Āditya-hṛdaya *mantra* which was imparted to him by Agastya (Nar 52 96-97).

291 Balabhadra, who is said to be none but Narasimha's white energy (sitā śakti), is said to have killed Rukmīna, king of Kalinga, by uprooting his teeth.

292 Kṛṣṇa, who is the dark energy (kṛṣṇā śakti) of Narasimha, is said to have killed Naraka and many other Daityas (such as Hayagrīva) of Prāgjyotiṣa.

293 According to the Narasimha-p, Kalki would be born as the son of Viṣṇuśāśa in the great village (mahāgrāma) called Sāmbhala and exterminate the Mlecchas with a sword by mounting a horse.

regaining his eye which was pierced by Vāmana (chap. 55); the story of Indra, who muttered the eight-syllabled *mantra* and got rid of his female form that was brought on him by the curse of the sage Tṛṇabindu for killing in his hermitage the demoness Dīrghajāṅghā who, under the guise of an extremely beautiful woman, acted as a spy to Kuvera whose wife Citrasenā was stolen by Indra (chap. 63); the story of a Brahmin named Puṇḍarīka, who became a wandering mendicant without entering the second stage of life, settled at Śāligrāma and became an attendant (pārṣada) of Nārāyaṇa by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra* (om̐ namo nārāyaṇāya), and meditating on the deity according to the instructions of Nārada who introduced himself as a servant (dāsa) of Vāsudeva (chap. 64).

From the contents of the present Narasimha-p. summarised above it is clear that this Purāṇa is meant exclusively for the glorification of Narasimha who is identified with Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) as one of the forms (mūrti) of the latter²⁹⁴ and is thus called not only Nārāyaṇa but also Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, Hari, Mādhava, Ananta, Kṛṣṇa,²⁹⁵ Dāmodara etc. So, Narasimha, though a form of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, is himself the principal god also. It is this supreme deity called Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu or Narasimha) who takes the forms of Brahmā and Rudra for the sake of creation and destruction respectively; and for the work of preservation he takes the forms of (the inferior) Viṣṇu, Narasimha etc.²⁹⁶ In creation he takes to *māyā*.²⁹⁷ Though in this Purāṇa Viṣṇu (or Nārāyaṇa) is described as four-armed, yellow-robed, having a complexion like that of the cloud, and holding a conch-shell, a disc, a mace and a lotus in his hands, he is called *nirvikalpa*, *niṣprapañca*, *advaita*, *sarvātmaka*, *ātma-caitanya-rūpa*, *jyotiḥ-svarūpa*, *avyakta-svarūpa*, *ānanda-rūpa*, *cidātmaka* etc.²⁹⁸ and is identified with Brahma of Vedānta and Puruṣa of Sāṃkhya.²⁹⁹

294 Nar. 1. 30 ; 1. 64-65

295 Nar. 1. 10; 7. 37.

296 Nar. 1. 30; 2. 1; 1. 61-62 and 64-65, 39 17b-18b

297 Nar. 3. 28—*māyām adhisthāya sṛjaty anantaḥ*.

298 Nar. 17. 17-18, 24-25 and 27, 1. 61b-62a, 1. 31a, 53 11, and so on

299 Nar. 1. 31a and 36-39; 3. 13; 17 35a.

It has already been said that the present Narasiṃha-p. is one of the oldest of the extant Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas. It was translated into Telugu about 1300 A.D.³⁰⁰ and is profusely drawn upon by the commentators and Nibandha-writers both early and late. For instance, Gadādhara quotes verses from chap. 58 in his Kālasāra; Nīlakṛṣṇa from chaps 34 and 58 in his Ācāra-mayūkha; Gopālabhaṭṭa from chaps. 8, 9, 18, 28, 32, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58 and 66 in his Haribhaktivilāsa; Anantabhaṭṭa from chaps. 34 and 35 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta, I; Narasiṃha Vājapeyin from chaps. 7, 8, 28, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58 and 63 in his Nityācāra-pradīpa; Raghunandana from chap. 62 in his Durgā-pūjā-tattva and from chaps. 8, 18, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58, 62, 63, 66 and 67 in his Smṛti-tattva; Govindānanda from chaps. 30, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58, 62 and 67 in his Varṣa-kaumudī, from chap. 58 in his Śuddhi-kaumudī and Śrāddha-kaumudī, and from chap. 30 in his Dāna-kaumudī; Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi from chap. 58 in his Kṛtya-tattvārṇava; Rudradhara Upādhyāya from chaps 30 and 67 in his Varṣa-kṛtya; Vidyākara Vājapeyin from chaps. 8, 15, 32, 58 and 63 in his Nityācāra-paddhati; Sūlapāṇi from chap. 58 in his Dīpa-kalikā; Vācaspati-miśra from chap. 65 in his Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi; Vidyāpati Upādhyāya from chaps. 30, 32 and 58 in his Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī; Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura from chaps. 30, 34, 58 and 67 in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, and from chaps. 55 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Gṛhastha-ratnākara; Mādhavācārya from chaps. 58 and 60 in his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti; Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 28, 32, 34, 55 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Ācārādarśa (*alias* Kṛtyācāra), and from chap. 67 in his Samaya-pradīpa; Madanapāla from chaps 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Madana-pārijāta; Hemādri from chaps. 26, 30, 58 and 67 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi; Halāyudha from chaps. 58 and 62 in his Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva; Vallālasena from chaps. 30, 34 and 58 in his Dānasāgara; Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa from chaps. 30, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Smṛti-candrikā; Aparārka from chaps. 58, 60, 62 and 63 in his com-

300 Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p 249

mentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti; and Lakṣmīdhara from chaps. 17, 26, 30, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66 and 67 in his Kṛtya-kalpataru, Vols. I-III, V, VI, VIII and XIV. In his Smṛti-tattva, II, pp. 84 and 284 Raghunandana quotes Nar. 66. 45 and Nar. 30. 29-30a not direct from the Narasiṃha-p. but from the 'Tīrtha-kāṇḍa-kalpataru' and 'Dāna-ratnākara' respectively. Though Vallālasena is very particular about the authenticity of the Purāṇas which he draws upon in his Dānasāgara,³⁰¹ he describes the present Narasiṃha-p. as a work

301 Interesting information about the Purāṇas is supplied by Vallālasena when, in his Dānasāgara, he refers to the contents of a few Purāṇic works by way of explaining why he rejected them partly or wholly. Regarding the Ādi-purāṇa he says that though it was well-known for its treatment of gifts divided according to the division of the year, it was slightly touched upon in the Dānasāgara, because its contents were already fully utilised in the Ācāra-sāgara; the Bhāgavata, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Nāradiya-purāṇa did not contain any chapter on gifts and were consequently set aside, the Liṅga-purāṇa, whose volume was expanded by the chapters on big donations (mahādāna) contained in the Matsya-purāṇa and which was thus no better than a digest on gifts, was not drawn upon, because the substance of its contents was already obtained from other Purāṇas; the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa was utilised upto the chapters dealing with the *saptamī* (-kalpa), while those on the *astamī* and *navamī* (-kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tantric influence, the Viṣṇu-rahasya and the Śiva-rahasya, which were famous among the people, were mere compilations and were consequently not utilised, and though the Bhaviṣyottara was famous for its customary laws (or was popularly followed) and did not contradict good customs, it was avoided in the Dānasāgara for want of sufficient evidence to prove its authenticity.

Next, Vallālasena names a set of Purāṇas rejected by him as spurious, viz. Tārksya (i.e. Gāruda), Brāhma, Āgneya, Vaisnava consisting of 23000 ślohas, and Liṅga of 6000 ślohas, and in connexion with their contents he says that these works, dealing with initiation, consecration, ways of salvation for the Tantriks, testing of gems, fictitious genealogies, lexicography, grammar etc. and containing irrelevant and contradictory statements, were used as means of deception by Mīna-ketanas (followers of Mīnanātha?) and others, who are hypocrites, heretics and pseudo-ascetics. By his remark that due to its wide circulation the Skanda-purāṇa existed in more parts than one, and that three of its parts dealt with the accounts (kathā) of Paundra, Revā and Avantī, Vallālasena seems to include those three parts among the spurious Purāṇas—See Dānasāgara, pp. 6-7 (verses 55-68).

dealing prominently with donations³⁰² and utilises it without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity, antiquity and non-Tantric character. These show that by the first half of the eleventh century A. D. the Narasimha-p. attained so much prominence that its authenticity as an ancient 'Purāṇa' was not at all questioned. Hence this Purāṇa must have been written not later than 850 A.D.

The mention of a 'Vārāhākhyā Samhitā' or 'Vārāha'³⁰³ in the Narasimha-p. must not be taken to point to the extant Varāha-p. and thus be used as an evidence in favour of the late date of the present Narasimha. In Nar. I. 14-15 Bharadvāja says, "O Sūta, the Samhitā named Vārāha has already been heard from you by these (sages) and ourselves during the great sacrifice of Śaunaka; at present these sages and myself want to hear from you the Paurāṇa-samhitā named Nārasimha"³⁰⁴, and in Nar. 31. 10b-11a Sūta says in connection with geography, "The region of Viṣṇu is situated at a distance double in comparison with that of the region of Brahmā, its glory has been described in the Vārāha by those who think over the (different) regions".³⁰⁵ From these it is clear that the Narasimha-p. speaks of a

302 See Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verses 12b ff) —

.. .. . kūrmapurāṇādīpurāṇayoh/
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca//
ādyam purāṇam śāmbam ca kālīkāhvayam eva ca/
nāndam āditya-samjñam ca nārasimham tathaiiva ca//etc

303 In Nar. 13. 111a the printed ed reads 'varāhe', but most of the Mss read 'vārāhe' in the corresponding line See foot-note 305 below.

304 bharadvāja uvāca—

śaunakasya mahāsatre vārāhākhyā tu samhitā/
tvattah śrutā purā sūta etair asmābhīr eva ca//
sāmpratam nārasimbākhyām tvattah paurāṇa-samhitām/
śrotum icchāmy aham sūta śrotukāmā ime sthitāh// Nar 1.14-15

305 brahma-lokād viṣṇu-loko dvigune ca vyavasthitah/
varāhe tasya mātmyam kathitam loka-cintakair//

Nar 31 110b-111a.

Most of the Mss read 'vārāhe' for 'varāhe'. (See, for instance, Dacca Univ. Mss Nos 2713, 323 and 284A and Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos 36 and 304)

Varāha-p. which was narrated by Sūta to the sages Bharadvāja and others during the great sacrifice of Śaunaka and which dealt, among other topics, with the praise of the region of Viṣṇu. But in the present Varāha-p. there is no mention of Śaunaka's great sacrifice as the occasion for the narration of the Purāṇa or of Bharadvāja as one of the interlocutors, nor does this Purāṇa deal with the praise of the Viṣṇu-loka. So, the Varāha-p., mentioned in the Narasimha-p., must have been different from the extant Varāha, which was thus unknown to the present Narasimha-p. The original chapters of the extant Varāha-p. being written about 800 A.D., the date of the present Narasimha-p. must be placed earlier.

The verses common to the Narasimha-p. and the present Varāha in their chapters on primary and secondary creation³⁰⁶ need not be taken to prove the indebtedness of one of these two Purāṇas to the other. These common verses must have been taken by these two Purāṇas from the earlier Varāha-p. which is now lost.

In chaps. 26, 33 (verses 1-14), 34, 35, 56, 62 and 63 (verses 1-9 and 119-122) the Narasimha-p. gives the method of Gaṇeśa-worship, the Vedic and popular methods of Viṣṇu-worship, the method of consecrating the images of Viṣṇu, and the procedure to be followed in the performance of *lakṣa-homa* and *koṭi-homa*. But neither in these chapters nor anywhere else in the whole Purāṇa there is the slightest trace of Tantric influence. This Purāṇa does not mention the Tantriks or the Tantras even for the sake of denouncement. So, it is evident that this Purāṇa was composed at a time when the Tantras did not begin to influence the people very seriously. Now, from an examination of the Mahāpurāṇas we have seen that Tantric influence began to be imbibed by the Purāṇic works from about 800 A.D.³⁰⁷ Hence the Narasimha-p. must be dated not later than 700 A.D.

306	Narasimha-p	Varāha-p.	Narasimha-p	Varāha-p
	1. 17, 19-20a, 23a	≈ 1.12-15a.	3. 10b	≈ 2. 21a
	1 32-33	≈ 2 3-4.	3. 11-28b	≈ 2 23-41a
	1 35-36a	≈ 2. 5-6	4 1-6	≈ 2 42-47
	3 1-9a	≈ 2. 13-20	5 5a, 6b-8a	≈ 2. 49-50

307 See Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*, p. 260.

Though in chap. 36 of the *Narasimha-p.* Mārkaṇḍeya promises to narrate the stories on the following (eleven) incarnations of Viṣṇu, viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma,³⁰⁸ Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki, he gives, in chaps. 37-54, the stories on all these except the Buddha and adds at the end, "I have spoken on the ten incarnations of (Viṣṇu) the destroyer of (all) earthly sins. The devotee of Nṛsiṃha, who always listens to these, attains Viṣṇu" (Nar. 54. 6). So, the only line 'kalau prāpte yathā buddho bhaven nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuh' (Nar. 36. 9a), which mentions the Buddha incarnation, is undoubtedly spurious. This line does not occur in most of the Mss of the *Narasimha-p.* Thus the *Narasimha-p.* knows the group of the 'ten' incarnations of Viṣṇu but is quite ignorant of the Buddha incarnation. An examination of the different lists of incarnations of Viṣṇu shows that the Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu not very much earlier than 500 A.D.³⁰⁹ Hence the date of the *Narasimha-p.* is to be placed not later than about 500 A.D.

According to the *Narasimha-p.* Kṛṣṇa embodies only a part of Viṣṇu's Śakti.³¹⁰ It is for this inferior position of Kṛṣṇa that Yama says in Nar. 9. 3, "I submit to the slayer of (the demon) Madhu; even Kṛṣṇa is not able to restrain me of his own accord". Hence the *Narasimha-p.* is to be dated earlier than the present *Bhāgavata*, in which Kṛṣṇa is given a higher position and is even called the Bhagavat himself.³¹¹ As the present *Bhāgavata* is to be dated in the sixth

308 In the present ed, the verse (No 7) on the Rāma incarnation is placed before the line (No. 9a) on Paraśurāma, but in most of the Mss this order has been reversed.

309. See Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*, pp. 41-42.

310 See Nar 53 30b-31a (...avatīrya mahitale/sita-kṛṣṇe ca macchakti kamsādin ghātayisyatah//), 33a (presayāmāsa te śakti sita-kṛṣṇe svake nrpa), and 66a (ittham hi śakti sita-kṛṣṇa-rūpe harer anantasya mahābalādhye)

311 Cf *Bhāgavata-p.* I. 3. 28a—ete cāmśa-kalāḥ pumsaḥ kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam

century A.D.,³¹² the Narasiṃha-p. is to be placed not later than 500 A.D.

Thus we get the lower limit of the date of this Purāṇa.

Again, in Narasiṃha-p., chaps. 47-52, a summary of the contents of the Rāmāyaṇa is given in connection with the Rāma incarnation of Viṣṇu; Nar. 29. 3 mentions some of the notable incidents of the Mahābhārata, viz., Arjuna's receipt of the Pāśupata weapon from Śaṃkara and the assistance given by him to Agni in consuming the Khāṇḍava forest, the Pāṇḍavas' residence *incognito* with Draupadī in Virāṭa's capital, and so on; and in Nar. 29.6 Janamejaya is said to have 'heard the entire Mahābhārata from Vaiśaṃpāyana, a student of Vyāsa, in order to get rid of the sin arising out of killing a Brahmin (brahma-hatyā)'. Thus the Narasiṃha-p. knows both the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. In Nar. 19. 5-6 Sūta says to Bharadvāja, "O high-minded one, the origin of the Maruts has already been described elaborately by the son of Śakti (i.e. by Parāśara) in the Purāṇa named Vaiṣṇava, and the creation of the twin gods Aśvins has been narrated in minute details by Vāyu. I shall speak to you briefly on this creation. Listen to me."³¹³ Thus, the Narasiṃha-p. mentions two Purāṇas, of which the second is decidedly the present Vāyu-p., which contains

312 As there are a few parallelisms in idea as well as language between the works of Śaṃkarācārya and the present Bhāgavata-p., some scholars are inclined to date the Bhāgavata after that great Vedāntist scholar. (See Bhāratīya Vidyā, II, pp. 129-139, and IHQ, XXVII, 1951, pp. 138ff.) But these scholars overlook the facts that the present Bhāgavata, like the other Purāṇic works, has been revised and emended on more occasions than one, and that Śaṃkarācārya, Māgha and others' influence must be due to these revisions and emendations. On the other hand, there are evidences to prove the pre-Śaṃkara origin of the earlier portions of the present Bhāgavata. (See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp 55-57)

313 sūta uvāca—

marutām vistarenoktā vaiṣṇavākhye mahāmate/

purāṇe śakti-putrena purotpattiś ca vāyunā/ /

aśvinor devayoś caiva sṛṣṭir uktā suvistarāt/

samksepāt tava vakṣyāmi sṛṣṭim etām śṛṇuṣva me// Nar. 19 5-6

the story of the birth of the Aśvins in chap. 84 and is declared by Vāyu,³¹⁴ but the information regarding the 'Vaiṣṇavākhyā Purāṇa' in which Śakti's son (Parāśara) was the narrator of the story of the birth of the Maruts, does not tally fully with the present Viṣṇu-p. which, though narrated by Parāśara, does not contain this story. But this absence of the story of the birth of the Maruts in the present text of the Viṣṇu-p. must not be taken very seriously, because it can be explained away by saying that the particular Ms or recension of the present Viṣṇu-p. which was used by the Narasimha-p. contained the above-mentioned story, and also because there are verses common to the Narasimha and the Viṣṇu-p.³¹⁵ Hence the Narasimha-p. must be dated later than the present Vāyu-p. and Viṣṇu-p. That the Narasimha-p. was composed later than the Viṣṇu-p. is shown by another piece of evidence. In the Viṣṇu-p. two hairs of Viṣṇu, one black and the other white, are said to have been incarnated as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma respectively.³¹⁶ Thus Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are incarnations of exceedingly small portions of Viṣṇu. But in the Narasimha-p. it is two Śaktis of Viṣṇu, one black and the other white, which appear in the forms of Kṛṣṇa and (Bala-) Rāma respectively for the destruction of Kāṁsa and others.³¹⁷ So, the position of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as incarnations of Viṣṇu is better in the Narasimha-p.

314 This identity seems to be supported by the verses common to the Vāyu and the Narasimha-p., viz.,

Vāyu-p. 6. 60-65—cf Nar 3 23-28a,

„ 9 75ff —cf „ 5. 3ff.

315 For instance,

Narasimha-p.

Viṣṇu-p

3. 23-28a —cf. I. 5. 18-24.

5 3ff. = I 8. 1b-2; 7. 3ff.

25. 40b-41a = I. 6 39

316 See Viṣṇu-p. V 1. 59-60—

evam samstūyamānas tu bhagavān parameśvarah/

ujjahārātmanah keśau sita-kṛṣṇau mahāmune//

uvāca ca surān etau mat-keśau vasudhā-tale/

avatīrya bhuvo bhāra-kleśa-hānam karisyatah//

317 Nar. 53. 30b-31a, 33-34a and 66 For the texts of these verses see foot-note 310 above.

than in the Viṣṇu. Now, the present Vāyu-p., with the exception of those of its chapters which were added later, being earlier than the present Viṣṇu-p., and the Viṣṇu-p. being to be dated about 300 A.D., the date of the Narasimha-p. should be placed not earlier than about 400 A.D. This upper limit of the date of the present Narasimha-p. is supported by its mention of week-days (viz., Arka-divasa and Guru-vāra) in chap. 67 (verses 8 and 10 respectively), because the earliest epigraphic mention of a week-day is found in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D.³¹⁸

Thus, the date of the present Narasimha-p. is to be placed between 400 and 500 A.D. It is highly probable that this Purāṇa was written in the latter half of this century.

The introductory verses of the Narasimha-p. do not throw any light on the date of this Purāṇa. As all the Mss do not agree in this respect, some of these introductory verses may be later additions. Moreover, the date of these verses is uncertain. The verse 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśānta' is the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 196. 18b-19a; and the verse 'kiṃ kiṃ siṃhas tataḥ kiṃ,' being ascribed to Vyāsa in the Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya (p. 13) and Śrīdharadāsa's Sadukti-karṇāmṛta (p. 53), seems to have been taken from the Narasimha-p.

That a Narasimha-p. was written at a fairly early date is shown not only by its mention in Alberūnī's work³¹⁹ as well as in *all* the lists of Upapurāṇas³²⁰ except that contained in the Ekāmra-p.,³²¹ but also by

318 Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89

319 In his account of India Alberūnī gives two lists of eighteen 'Purāṇas'; and of these two lists the first, which was dictated to him, consists of the following 'Purāṇas' :—

Ādi-p., Matsya-p., Kūrma-p., Varāha-p., Narasimha-p., Vāmana-p., Vāyu-p., Nanda-p., Skanda-p., Āditya-p., Soma-p., Sāmba-p., Brahmānda-p., Mārkaṇḍeya-p., Tārksya-p., Viṣṇu-p., Brahma-p., Bhaviṣya-p.—See Sachau, Alberūnī's India, Vol. I, p. 130

320 For these lists and the approximate date of formation of the group of 'eighteen Upapurāṇas', see Chap. I.

321 In its list of 'Purāṇas' the Ekāmra-p. (chap. 1) mentions the 'Nārasimha' in place of the 'Nāradiya'.

The Vanga. ed. of the Brhaddharma-p. (l. 25.20) wrongly mentions the 'Nrsimha' as a Mahāpurāṇa in place of the Mahābhāgavata.

the Matsya-p. (53. 59) which says that the Upapurāṇas, viz., Nārasimha, Nandī-purāṇa, Sāmba and Āditya, were 'well-established in society' (loke... ..sampratīṣṭhitāḥ), thus testifying to a much earlier date of these Upapurāṇas. But it is very difficult to say whether our present Narasimha-p. is the same as that mentioned in these lists and in the Matsya-p. The commentators and Nibandha-writers are, however, quite sure of the identity of the two. Of these, Narasimha Vājapeyin even explains the shorter form of the present Narasimha-p. saying, "As the number (of ślokaś) of the famous Nārasimha is not found to be 18000, it seems that a portion has been lost in course of time."³²²

The above date of the present Narasimha-p. must not be taken to be that of the entire Purāṇa as found in the printed edition, because in the printed edition there are chapters and verses which are decidedly later interpolations. In order to be able to find out these spurious portions a list of such chapters and verses as are not found in all the Mss of the Narasimha-p. is given below with the mention of those Mss in which they occur and also of those in which they are not found.

<i>Chaps. and verses of the printed ed</i>	<i>Mss, in which they are not found.</i>	<i>Mss, in which they occur.</i>
1. Chap. 31, ver- ses 1-97. (On the story of Dhruva).	(1) Ms noticed by R. L. Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Mss. (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). ³²³ (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (5) Keith's Ms (Cat. No. 6618). (6) Dacca University, Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).	Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.

³²² Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p 18—prasiddha-nārasimhasya astādaśa-sāhasra-samkhyā yady api nopalabhyate kimcit kāla-kramāt luptam iti pratibhāti

³²³ It has already been said that the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No 304 of the Narasimha-p. was originally numbered 298.

<i>Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.</i>	<i>Mss, in which they are not found.</i>	<i>Mss, in which they occur.</i>
	(7) R. L. Mitra's Bikaner Ms.	
	(8) Ms ण used in the printed ed.	
	Most probably also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, and (2) Keith's Mss (Cat. Nos. 6616-17).	
2. Chap. 33, verses 15-85; chap. 34, verse 1. (On the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśīras).	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Mss. (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (6) Mitra's Bikaner Ms. (7) Ms ण used in the printed ed. Most probably also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, and (2) Keith's Mss.	Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.
3. Chap. 34, verses 43-55a. (On lakṣa-homa and koṭi-homa).	Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.	All other Mss.
4. Chap. 36, verse 9a. (On the Buddha incarnation).	(1) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). (2) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (3) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (Most probably also in the Mss of Mitra, Aufrecht, Eggeling and Keith; otherwise the number of incar-	Mss क, ख, and also ण (?) used in the printed ed.

<i>Chaps and verses of the printed ed.</i>	<i>Mss, in which they are not found.</i>	<i>Mss, in which they occur.</i>
	nations becomes 11 and not 10 as mentioned in Nar. 54. 6—daśāvatārāḥ kathitās tavaiva harer mayā etc.)	
5. Chap. 40, ver- ses 60b - 61b, chaps. 41-43; chap. 44, verses 1-13. (On the story of Prahlaḍa).	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Mss. (3) Cal Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos 36 and 304). (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (6) Mitra's Bikaner Ms. (7) Ms ऋ used in the printed ed. Most probably also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, and (2) Keith's Mss.	Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.
6. Chap. 54, ver- 8-61. (On the evils of the Kali age).	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Mss. (3) Cal. Sans. Coll Mss (Nos. 36 and 304) (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (6) Mitra's Bikaner Ms. Most probably also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, and (2) Keith's Mss.	Mss क, ख and ग used in the prin- ted ed.
7. Chap. 61. (On yoga).	(1) Aufrecht's Mss (2) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304)

<i>Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.</i>	<i>Mss, in which they are not found.</i>	<i>Mss, in which they occur.</i>
		(3) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (4) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (5) Ms ऋ used in the printed ed. Most probably also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, and (2) Keith's Mss.
8. Chap. 63, verses 10-119a. (On the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by mutttering the eight-syllabled <i>mantra</i>).	(1) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos 36 and 304). (2) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (3) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713 and 323) (In the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A chap. 57, verses 21-30, and chaps. 58-64 of the printed ed. do not occur at all). (4) Ms ऋ used in the printed ed. Most probably also in (1) the Ms noticed by Mitra, (2) Aufrecht's Mss, (3) Eggeling's Mss, and (4) Keith's Mss.	(1) Eggeling's Ms (Cat.No.3378.—In its comparatively modern portion). (2) Mss ऋ and ऌ used in the printed ed.
9. Chap. 64. (On the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glory	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Eggeling's Mss. (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.	(1) Aufrecht's Mss. (2) Eggeling's Ms (Cat.No.3378.—In its modern portion).

<i>Chaps and verses of the printed ed.</i>	<i>Mss, in which they are not found.</i>	<i>Mss, in which they occur.</i>
of Nārāyana).	(5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos 2713 and 323). (In Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A chap. 57, verses 21- 30 and chaps. 58-64 of the printed ed. do not occur at all). Also in Keith's Mss?	(3) Mss क, ख and ग used in the printed ed.
10. Chap. 65. (On the 68 holy places of the Vaiṣ- navas).	(1) Aufrecht's Ms No. 138. (2) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Ms No 139. (3) Eggeling's Mss (4) Cal. Sans. Coll.. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). (5) As. Soc. (Cal- cutta) Mss. (6) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (7) Ms ग used in the printed ed. Most probably also in Keith's Mss.
11. Chap. 66. (On the praise of holy places).	(1) Aufrecht's Ms No. 138. (2) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 304. (3) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A. (4) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.	(1) Ms noticed by Mitra. (2) Aufrecht's Ms No. 139. (3) Eggeling's Mss. (4) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36. (5) As. Soc. (Cal- cutta) Mss.

<i>Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.</i>	<i>Mss, in which they are not found.</i>	<i>Mss, in which they occur.</i>
		(6) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323. (7) Ms ऋ used in the printed ed. Also in Keith's Mss?
12. Chap. 67. (On the mental tūthas, and the praise of the Na- rasimha-p.).	(1) Aufrecht's Ms No. 138. (2) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 304. (3) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A. (4) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.	(1) Ms noticed by Mittra. (2) Aufrecht's Ms No. 139. (3) Eggeling's Mss (4) Cal. Sans Coll. Ms No. 36. (5) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323. (6) Ms ऋ used in the printed ed.
13. Chap. 68. (On the praise of the Narasimha-p.).	(1) Ms noticed by Mittra. (2) Eggeling's Mss. (Cat. Nos. 3375-77). (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36, 304). (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss. (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A). (6) Ms ऋ used in the prin- ted ed. Also in Keith's Mss?	(1) Aufrecht's Mss. (2) Mss क and ख used in the prin- ted ed.

The above table shows that *the following chapters*, which are not contained in the older and better Mss, *are undoubtedly spurious*, viz.,

chap. 31, verses 1-97

chap. 33, verses 15-85

—on the story of Dhruva,

—on the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing
the demons Bahuroman and Śchūlāsiras,

chap. 36, verse 9a		—on the Buddha incarnation,
chap. 40, verses 60b 61b,	}	—on the story of Prahlāda,
chaps. 41-43;		
chap. 44, verses 1-13		
chap. 54, verses 8-61		—on the evils of the Kali age,
chap. 63, verses 10-1191		—on the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled <i>mantra</i> ,
chap. 64	— —	—on the interlocution between Nārada and Pundarīka on the praise of Nārāyana,
chap. 68	— —	—on the praise of the Narasimha-p.;
whereas the following chapters, viz.,		
chap. 34 (verses 43-55a)		—on <i>lakṣa-boma</i> and <i>koti-boma</i> ,
chap. 61	— —	—on <i>yoga</i> ,
chap. 65	— —	—on the 68 holy places of the Vaisnavas,
chap. 66	— —	—on praise of holy places, and
chap. 67	— —	—on the mental tīrthas, and the praise of the Narasimha-p.,

though eliminated in some Mss, are genuine.

The spurious character of the chapters and verses of the former group is also shown by their position, by the nature of their insertion, as well as by other evidences. For instance, the story of Dhruva in chap. 31, verses 1-97 is inserted so abruptly that none can have the slightest doubt regarding the fact that verses 98-113 of chap. 31 are direct continuations of the verses in chap. 30. As a matter of fact, chap. 30 and verses 98-113 of chap. 31 of the printed ed. form one single chapter in a large number of Mss (such as those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic society, and Dacca University).³²⁴ Similarly, the story of the Pāṇdavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Śchūlaśīras in chap. 33 (verses 15-85) and chap. 34 (verse 1) separates verses 1-14 of chap. 33 and verses 2ff. of chap. 34 of the

³²⁴ As we have not been able to consult the other Mss of the Narasimha-p., we refer only to those of these three institutions.

printed ed. which deal with the results of offering different articles to Viṣṇu and of rendering various kinds of service to this deity and which thus rightly form a single chapter in the above-mentioned Mss. Regarding the suprious character of verse 9a of chap. 36 much has already been said in connection with the determination of the date of this Purāṇa. As to the chapters and verses on the story of Prahlāda, they are placed between verses 1-60a of chap. 40 and verses 14ff. of chap. 44 of the printed edition which form one single chapter in the above-mentioned Mss as well as in the Ms π used in the printed edition. In these Mss, those verses, which are separated, with modifications, by the chapters on the story of Prahlāda in the printed edition, read, with slight variations, as follows:

gacchadhvam adhunā devāḥ svasthānaṃ vigata-jvarāḥ/
 aham adya gamiṣyāmi indrasyeन्द्रतत्त्वा-siddhaye//
 hiraṇya-kaśīpor nāśo bhavatām api vṛddhaye/,
 yuṣmākaṃ vijayāyaiva ajayāya sura-dviṣām//
 mārkaṇḍeya uvāca/
 ity uktā viṣṇunā devā natvā viṣṇuṃ yayur nr̥pa/
 bhagavān api deveśo nārasimham athākarot//
 bahu-yojana-vistīrṇaṃ bahu-yojanam āyatam/
 atiraudraṃ mahākāyaṃ dānavānāṃ bhayaṃkaram//
 mahānetraṃ mahāvakraṃ mahādamaṣṭraṃ mahānakham/
 mahābāhuṃ mahāpādaṃ kālāgni-sadṛśopamam//
 kṛtvetthaṃ nārasimham tu yayau viṣṇus trivikramah/
 stūyamāno muni-gaṇair hiraṇya-kaśīpor purah//
 nṛsimhas tatra gatvā ca mahānādaṃ nanāda ca/
 tan-nāda-śravaṇād daityā nārasimham aveṣṭayan//
 tān hatvā sakalāṃs tatra sva-pauruṣa-parākramāt/
 babhañja ca sabhāṃ divyāṃ hiraṇya-kaśīpor nr̥pa//
 etc. etc.

How these verses have been changed in the printed edition in order to accommodate the chapters on the story of Prahlāda will be obvious from a comparison of these verses with Nar. 40. 60ff. and 44. 14ff. The word 'yayau' in the line 'kṛtvetthaṃ nārasimham tu yayau viṣṇus trivikramah', which has been retained in the printed edition, does not agree with what has been said to Viṣṇu in the story of Prahlāda. As

regards the spuriousness of chap. 68 it can be said that the Narasimha-p. really ends with chap. 67, which deals not only with the mental tīrthas but also with the praise of the Purāṇa, and of which lines 24b-25a say, "Having heard (the Purāṇa topics) in company with the snātakas (i.e. the sages who took their holy bath in the Ganges), Bharadvāja remained there after showing proper respect to Sūta, but the (other) sages went away". Further, though in several places of the Narasimha-p. unswerving (acalā, avyabhicārīnī) *bhakti* is mentioned and praised as the means of attaining the blissful state of existence,³²⁵ it is only in some of those chapters which we have taken as spurious that there are mention and praise of *dāśya-bhakti*.³²⁶ It is also noteworthy that none of these spurious chapters is referred to by any of the remaining chapters, although there are numerous cross references in the latter.³²⁷

325 See Nar. 7 33, 9 6, 10 49 and 51, 11 56 and 60; 32, 10, and so on

326 Cf prahlādo 'thābravid dhīmān deva janmāntaresv api/
dāśas tavāham bhūyāsam garutmān iva bhaktimān//

Nar 43. 78b-79a,

dāso'ham vāsudevasya deva-devasya śārṅgīnah/
ity ukto nāradenāsau bhakti-paryākulātmanā// Nar. 64 46,

janmāntara-sahasresu yasya syād buddhir idrśī/
dāso'ham vāsudevasya deva-devasya śārṅgīnah/
prayāti visnu-sālokyam puruso nātra saṁsayah// Nar. 64 94-95a.

prayāti visnu-sālokyam puruso nātra saṁsayah// Nar. 64 94-95a.

Also cf. Nar. 64 116-117.

In Nar. 33 31 the demon Bahuroman says how in one of his previous births as a Brahmin named Raivata, he was killed by the city-guards in a Viṣṇu-temple and was taken to heaven in a car which was 'prabhu-dāśa-samanvita'

327 Nar. 6 2 refers to Nar 5 2, Nar 19 4 refers to Nar 5 46-47; Nar. 20. 1 refers to Nar. 19. 23, Nar 24 1 (prathamam tāvat svāyambhuvam manvantaram tat-svarūpam kathitam) refers to Nar. 3. 8-9 and Nar 5. 20ff., Nar. 24 17c (pūrvoktaś chāyāyām utpanno manuh.....) refers to Nar 19. 13 and 15; Nar 29 9b (tasya caritam uparistād bhaviṣyati) refers to Nar 32ff., Nar 32 1 refers to Nar 29 9, Nar 32 1-2 and 8 refer to chaps. 36ff on incarnations of Viṣṇu, Nar 35 2 refers to Nar 34 47 (on *koti-homa*), Nar. 36 1 refers to Nar. 32 1-2 and 8, Nar. 55 1 refers to Nar. 45 35-36, Nar. 62 2 refers to Nar 58 92b-93a The words 'kā vāvasthā kalau yuge' in Nar 1. 20a refers to Nar. 54. 1-6 and not to the section on 'kalī-yuga-lakṣaṇa' occurring in Nar 54. 8-61

The above table further shows that there were distinct stages in the process of addition and elimination of chapters and verses. For instance, Ms ग (used in the printed ed.) interpolates chaps. 36 (verse 9a), 54 (verses 8-61) and 64, but eliminates nothing; Dacca University Ms No. 284A interpolates nothing but eliminates chaps. 66 and 67; and Aufrecht's Ms No. 139 interpolates chaps. 64 and 68 and eliminates chap. 61. Aufrecht's Ms No. 138 not only combines all the interpolations and eliminations of the Dacca University Ms (No. 284A) and Aufrecht's Ms No. 139 but also eliminates one chapter more, viz., chap. 65. Mss क and ख (used in the printed ed.) go a step further not only by combining all the interpolations and eliminations of Ms ग and Aufrecht's Ms No. 138 but also by interpolating chaps. 31 (verses 1-97), 33 (verses 15-85), 40 (verses 60b-61b), 41-43, 44 (verses 1-13) and 63 (verses 10-119a).

Even among the chapters other than those which have been differentiated above as spurious, there are some which are *most probably comparatively late additions*. Such chapters are especially Nar. 6 (on the story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya as sons of Mitra and Varuṇa) and Nar. 7-18 (on the story of Mārkaṇḍeya, the story of Yama and Yamī, etc. narrated by Vyāsa to Śuka). In Nar. 5. 48ff. the names of those thirteen daughters of Dakṣa who were given in marriage to Kaśyapa, are the following:—Aditi, Diti, Danu, Arisṭā, Svarasā, Svasā, Surabhī, Vinatā, Tāmrā, Krodhā-vaśā, Irā, Kadrū and Muni; but in Nar. 6. 4-8 the list of the names of the 'thirteen daughters' married to Kaśyapa omits Arisṭā and Tāmrā but adds Kālā, Muhūrtā, Simhikā and Saramā, thus increasing the number to fifteen. Even in the Mss preserved in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Asiatic Society (Calcutta), and Dacca University the names of these 'thirteen daughters' are different from those given in chap. 5.³²⁸ It is to be

328 These names, as given in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University Mss of the Narasimha-p., are as follows: Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kālā (Kālī' according to Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A), Muhūrtā, Simhikā, Muni, Vratā ('Tāmrā' according to Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713), Krodhā, Surabhī, Vinatā, Surasā (Calcutta. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 304—Svarasā, Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713—'Sarasā' after marginal correction), Khasā (according to Cal Sans Coll. Ms No. 36 and Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713), Kadru (or Kadrū), Saramā,

noted that in Nar. 5. 43 Muhūrtā is said to have been given in marriage to Dharma. This disagreement between chap. 5 (which deals with *pratisarga* and cannot, therefore, be spurious) and chap. 6 seems to indicate the spurious character of the latter. In order to introduce this chapter the interpolator adds verse 2 (*mitrā-varuna-putratvam vasisthasya katham bhavet, etc.*) of chap. 5. It is, however, not improbable that only verses 6-8a (containing the names of the '13 daughters') are spurious, and not the entire chap. 6. As to the chaps. 7-18 (on the story of Mārkaṇḍeya, etc.), their introductory verse is as follows:

mārkaṇḍeyena muninā katham mṛtyuh parājitah/
etad ākhyāhi me sūta tvayaitat sūcitam purā//

Though in chaps. 1-6 of the printed ed. there is no verse containing the mention of Mārkaṇḍeya or of the way of his subduing Death, the expression 'tvayaitat sūcitam purā' refers to the following verses (which occurred among those 12 verses which have been lost after verse 31 of chap. 5 of the printed ed. but are found in chap. 5 of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic Society, and Dacca University Mss):

bhṛgoh khyātyām samutpannā laksmīr viṣṇu-parigrahaḥ/
tathā dhātā-vidhātārau khyātyām jātau sutau bhṛgoh//
āyatir niyatis caiva meroh kanye suśobhane/
dhātur vidhātuś ca te bhārye tayor jātau sutāv ubhau//
prānaś caiva mrkanduś ca mārkaṇḍeyo mṛkaṇḍutaḥ/
yena mṛtyur jito vipra purā nārāyaṇāśrayāt//

Hence the absence of the verse containing the mention of Mārkaṇḍeya in chaps. 1-6 of the printed ed. is no cause for taking chaps. 7-18 as spurious. These chapters are considered as interpolated, because Nar. 19. 4 refers to Nar. 5. 46-47 ignoring the intervening chaps 7-18 and because Mārkaṇḍeya, who is called the great-grandson of Bhṛgu in the lost verses mentioned above, is mentioned as Bhṛgu's grandson in chaps. 7-12.³²⁹ Of these twelve intervening chapters (7-18), chaps. 7-12 (dealing with the story of Mārkaṇḍeya) differ from chaps. 13-18 in certain matters. In the former six chapters (7-12) the use of the twelve-syllabled *mantra* 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya'

329 See Nar. 7 10-12, 25, 27 etc., 8 3 and 10; 9 13, 12 65.

is prescribed more than once; the name 'Kṛṣṇa' for Viṣṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa) is given on many occasions; and the names 'Devakī-nandana,' 'Vāsudeva' etc. also are found. Once Yama says,

“sugatim abhilaṣāmi vāsudevād
 aham api bhagavate śhitāntarātmā/
 madhu-vadha-vaśago 'smi na svatantraḥ
 prabhavati saṁyamane mamāpi kṛṣṇaḥ//”

Hence these chapters, though not recognising Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat himself, have a Bhāgavata tinge. On the other hand, chaps. 13-18 have a Pāñcarātra stamp, because in these chapters Nārāyaṇa and the eight-syllabled *mantra* 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya' are praised, and there is no mention of the name 'Kṛṣṇa'. That chap. 13 is a later addition is also shown by the absence of praise of Viṣṇu or Vaiṣṇavism in this chapter (dealing with Yama-yamī-saṁvāda) except in the line 'cittam me nirmalam bhadre viṣṇau rudre ca saṁsthitam' (spoken by Yama to Yamī) which gives, unlike the other chapters, the same place to Viṣṇu and Rudra. As the interlocutors Śuka and Vyāsa of chaps. 13-18 are first introduced in chap. 7, these chapters are most probably later than chaps. 7-12.

From what has been said above regarding the addition and elimination of chapters and verses in the present Narasimha-p., it is clear that this Purāṇa has been revised on more occasions than one. A comparison between the texts of the same extracts as quoted by different Smṛti-writers and occurring in the printed ed., also lends strong support in this direction.³³⁰ The verses and even large extracts,

330 For instance, a comparison between Nar. 34. 6-12 and these very verses as quoted by Narasimha Vājapecyin in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, pp. 558-560, shows how single lines of the quoted passage have been expanded into verses in the printed ed. For example, the line 'toyena bhaktyā saṁsnāpya viṣṇu-loke mahīyate' (in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 558) = the verse 'snāpya toyena payasā narasimhaṁ narādhipa/ sarva-pāpa-vinirmukto viṣṇu-loke mahīyate//' (Nar. 34. 6); the line 'snāpya dadhnā sakṛd viṣṇum viṣṇu-lokam avāpnuyāt' (in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 558) = the verse 'snāpya dadhnā sakṛd yas tu nirmalah priya-darśanaḥ/ viṣṇu-lokam avāpnoti pūjyamānaḥ surottamaḥ//' (Nar. 34. 7), and so on. Again, a comparison between the texts of the verses quoted from the Narasimha-p in Madana-pārijāta, pp. 301-2, Smṛti-cattva, I, p. 411 and

quoted by Hemādri from the 'Narasimha-p.' on different kinds of Vratas³³¹ and donations but not found in the present Narasimha-p., show that the text of this Purāna as used by Hemādri was more extensive. Narasimha Vājapecyin explains the smaller bulk of the present Narasimha-p. saying, "As the number (of ślokas) of the famous Nārasimha is not found to be 18000, it seems that a portion has been lost in course of time."³³²

The mention of Tulasī in chaps. 31 (verse 87) and 34 (verses 19 and 23) and in the additional verses contained in the Mss (preserved in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic Society, Dacca University, etc.) in their chapters corresponding to chap. 57 of the printed ed., should not be taken to go against the above date of the Narasimha-p. This mention is certainly due to later revisions of the Purāna; because, of the above-mentioned chapters containing the mention of Tulasī, chap. 31 (verses 1-97) has been found to be spurious, and Nar. 34. 19 does not occur in the Ms π used in the printed ed. Moreover, in chap. 33, which deals with the results of various kinds of service rendered to Viṣṇu and of offering different articles to this deity, there is mention of 'bilva-patra' but not of Tulasī, nor is Tulasī mentioned in chaps. 56 (on the method of consecration of the images of Viṣṇu), 62 (on the Vedic method of Viṣṇu-worship) and 63 (on the popular method of Viṣṇu-worship).

It is probably due to the repeated revisions of the present Narasimha-p. that there are disagreements between a number of statements even in those chapters which cannot be taken as spurious. For instance, in Nar. 3. 8 Svāyambhuva Manu is said to have been the son of Dakṣa and his wife born respectively from Brahmā's right and left thumbs, but in Nar. 5. 22 Svāyambhuva Manu is said to have given his daughter Prasūti in marriage to Dakṣa; in Nar. 3. 3-5 Rudra is said to have been born of Brahmā's rage (roṣa), but in Nar. 5. 4-5 it is said that when Brahmā was thinking of some worthy

Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 617 shows that the texts of the Narasimha-p. used by Raghunandana and Narasimha Vājapecyin agree more with that of the printed ed. than with the text used by Madanapāla

331 Viz, Narasimha-caturdaśī-vrata, Hari-vrata, Pātra-vrata, etc.

332 Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18.

son at the beginning of the Brāhma Kalpa, the blue-red (nīla-lohita) Rudra is said to have appeared on Brahmā's lap as a child with a body half male and half female; in Nar. 4. 2-4 Brahmā is said to have created from his mind ten sons (viz., Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulaha, Kratu, Pulastya, Pracetas, Bhṛgu, Nārada and Vasistha), of whom Nārada took to abstention (nivṛtci-dharma), but in Nar. 5. 17-19 Brahmā is said to have created nine sons (Marīci and others, except Nārada) who were known as 'nine Brahmās'; and so on.

Though the Narasimha-p. proposes to give 'in brief' (saṃkṣepāt) the genealogies of kings which were 'elaborately dealt with in the Purāṇas,'³³³ the defects, found in these genealogies, seem to be due as much to the carelessness of the people of later ages in maintaining the correctness of these dynastic lists in their respective Mss as to their attempt at abridgment. For instance, in chaps. 22 and 27, the printed edition as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A mentions Aja as the son of Dīrghabāhu, but the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713, though following the printed ed. in chap. 27, give the pedigree of Aja as 'dīrghabāhor dilīpah dilīpād raghuḥ raghor ajaḥ' in chap. 22; in chaps. 22 and 27, the printed ed. as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A makes Māndhātṛ the son of Asamhatāśva (v. l. Asamkhyātāśva in chap. 22 of the printed ed.), but in chap. 27 they give a popular verse in which Māndhātṛ is called Yauvanāśva (i.e. son of Yuvanāśva), the latter pedigree of Māndhātṛ is supported by the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713 which mention Māndhātṛ as the son of Yuvanāśva in chap. 24 (yuvanāśvān māndhātā); after Nar. 27. 1 the Mss used in the printed ed. have lost an extract³³⁴ which is found in a large number of Mss (such as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 and 304

333 Nar. 22. 2. Also see Nar. 23. 1.

334 The text of this extract, as reconstructed from the Cal. Sans. Coll. and Dacca Univ. Mss, runs as follows: 'tat-putro venas tasya prthus tasya prthāśvah/ prthāśvād asamhatāśvah/ te catvāro rājāno bhūri-tejasah kramād rāḡyam kṛtvā dharmato harim ananta-śayanam ārādhya bhaktyā kratubhiś cestvā svarlokam gatāḥ/'

and Dacca University Mss Nos. 2713 and 284A); and so on. There are, of course, a few cases in which the disagreements are either to be removed by referring to other better Mss or to be ascribed to the revisions to which the extant Narasiṃha-p. was subjected. For instance, different pedigrees of Soma are given in chaps. 23 and 28 of the printed edition as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and the Dacca University Mss; in chap. 22 Saudāsa's son is called Śatrumdama in the printed edition as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 and 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Śatrundana in the Dacca University Ms No. 2713, but in chap. 27 he is called Satrasava in the printed edition and the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304, Satreśvara in the Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Satyaśrava in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713; and so on.

The disagreements in the names and pedigrees of some of the kings in chaps. 22-23 (on the genealogies of the kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties) on the one hand and chaps. 27-29 (on vamsānucarita, i. e. the accounts of the kings of these dynasties) on the other, are not real but are due to the editor of this Purāṇa who has not used a sufficient number of Mss for his edition. For instance, in chap. 22 the name of Prthāśva's son is given as Asamkhyātāśva in the printed ed. and Aśamhatāśva in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304, but in the Dacca University Mss as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 he is named as Saṃhatāśva, while in chap. 27 he is called Asamhatāśva in the printed ed. as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and Dacca University Mss; in chap. 22 Māndhātṛ's son is called Purukutsa in the printed ed. as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A and 2713, but in chap. 27 Māndhātṛ's son is named Purukuśya in the printed ed., Kurupuccha in the Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Purukutsa in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss and the Dacca University Ms No. 2713, in chap. 22 Dīrghabāhu's father is named Anaraṇa in the printed ed. and Anaraṇya in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and Dacca University Mss as well as in the Ms ॠ used in the printed ed., but in chap. 27 he is called Anaraṇa

in all these sources; in chap. 22 Padma's son is Anuparṇa in the printed ed. and Ṛtuparṇa in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 and in the Dacca University Mss, but in chap. 27 he is called Ṛtuparṇa in all these sources;³³⁵ and so on.

Though the Matsya-p.,³³⁶ the Skanda-p.³³⁷ and the Revā-māhātmya³³⁸ attach the 'Narasimha-p.' to the Padma-p. as a sub-division (upabhedā) of the latter, the present Narasimha-p. always calls itself a 'Purāṇa'³³⁹ and never an 'Upapurāṇa', nor does it attach itself to any Mahāpurāṇa for the sake of authority. As a matter of fact, in chap. 1, verses 33-34 it speaks of the five characteristics of 'Purāṇa', viz., *sarga*, *pratisarga*, *vaṁśa*, *manvantara* and *vaṁśānucarita* and proposes to deal with all these topics, and in chap. 67 verses 17-18 it says that it has dealt with the five topics, viz., *sarga*, *pratisarga* etc; but it betrays no knowledge of the Upapurāṇas. So, it is evident that though according to the later tradition the Narasimha-p. is classed as an Upapurāṇa, it is really an independent 'Purāṇa' like the Vāyu, Viṣṇu etc.

It has already been said that the present Narasimha-p. knows the extant Vāyu and Viṣṇu and the earlier Varāha-p. Its mention of the word 'Purāṇa' in the plural number on several occasions to mean

335 Cal. Sans Coll Ms No. 36 names Padma's son as Ṛtuparṇa in both the chapters (22 and 27).

336 upabhedān pravaksyāmi loke ye sampratisthitāh/
pādme purāṇe tatloktam narasimhopavarnanam/
taccāstādaśa-sāhasram nārasimham ihocyate // Mat. 53. 59

This verse is quoted by Hemādri (in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533, and II, 1, p. 21), Candēśvara (in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 31), Narasimha Vājaṇeyin (in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18), Jīva Gosvāmin (in his commentary, called Krama-samdarbha, on Bhāgavata-p. XII. 7. 17-22), and Mitra Miśra (in his Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14). Candēśvara and Mitra Miśra do not quote the first line.

337 VII (Prabhāsa-kh.). 1. 2. 79b-80 (these lines are the same as Mat. 53. 59 quoted above); V, III (Revā-kh.). 1. 48a.

338 See Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65 The Revā-māhātmya claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p.

339 See Nar. 1. 15; 1. 24; 1. 29; 67. 17; 67. 21, 22 and 25. See also the chapter-colophons. In the Mss also, the Narasimha-p. is called a 'Purāṇa'.

distinct Purāṇic works, shows that more Purāṇas than one came into existence before its composition.³⁴⁰ It is not known whether the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. or the Viṣṇudharmottara is referred to in chap. 10 (verses 54-55) which seems to be a later addition.

A careful examination of the original and the spurious chapters of the present Narasimha-p. shows that this Purāṇa was originally a work of the Pāñcarātra sect with remarkable Bhāgavata inclination. The Pāñcarātras themselves added a few more chapters and extracts at a later date. It was then considerably changed by the Bhāgavatas with further additions and alterations.

The entire Narasimha-p., as we have it now, is not composed in verse. There are a few chapters and extracts which are written in simple prose. These are the following:—Nar. 19. 7-23 (on the birth of the Aśvins), chap. 21 (on the origin of the Maruts); 22. 4-15 (on the names of the kings of the Solar race), 23. 2-13 (on the names of the kings of the Lunar race), 24. 1-36 (on the Manvantaras); 27. 1-12 (on the accounts of the kings of the Solar race); 28. 1-16 (on the accounts of the kings of the Lunar race), 29. 1-12 (on the accounts of the kings of the Lunar race), 30. 2-16 (except 5, which is a verse), 52. 25-31. A portion of chap. 9 is written in Puspitāgrā (also called Aupacchandasiḥka).

The language of the Narasimha-p. contains numerous solecisms. For instance, it has 'abhūvan' for 'abhavan' (Nar. 1. 62), 'vyajāyata' for 'vyajanayat' (Nar. 5. 21), 'jajñe' for 'janayāmāsa' (Nar. 5. 29, 31 and 35), 'snāyantī' for 'snāntī' (Nar. 6. 26), 'vedavidaiḥ' for 'vedavidbhiḥ' (6. 46) 'susangītavidaiḥ' for '-vidbhiḥ' (34. 36), 'mātr-pitarau' for 'mātā-pitarau' (7. 14), 'vīksayāmāsa' for 'vīkṣāmāsa' (14. 23), 'vartatīm' for 'vartamānām' (19. 15), 'manujām' for 'manujānām' (18. 12), 'pravartatīm' for 'pravartamānām' (19. 17), and so on.

Like the other Purāṇic works, the Narasimha-p. also tries to give itself a garb of great sanctity and high antiquity by tracing its descent from Brahmā. In chap. 67, verses 19-22 it gives the following

³⁴⁰ See Nar. 1. 24 (vyāsa-prasādāj jānāmī purānāni tapodhanāḥ), 22. 2 (rājñām vaṁśaḥ purāṇesu vistarena prakīrtitah), 56. 106-112; 58. 108.

tradition of inheritance:— Brahmā himself spoke out this Purāṇa to the sages Marīci and others; the next recipient was Mārkaṇḍeya, who then narrated it to a king of the Nāga family;³⁴¹ Vyāsa then received it through Narasiṃha's favour.

Nar. 57 (verses 8 to the end) and 58-61, which deal with the duties of the four castes and orders of life, are found printed word for word under the title *Hārīta-saṃhitā* in the *Ūnaviṃśati Saṃhitā*.³⁴² These chapters also appear as *Laghu-hārīta-smṛti* in Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's *Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha* (Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.). Now, the question arises as to whether it was the *Hārīta-saṃhitā* (or *Laghu-hārīta-smṛti*) which was incorporated in the present *Narasimha-p.*, or the above-mentioned chapters of the *Narasimha-p.* were given the character of an independent *Smṛti* work under the title '*Hārīta-saṃhitā*' (or '*Laghu-hārīta-smṛti*'). An examination of the *Hārīta-saṃhitā* shows that it was the above-mentioned chapters of the present *Narasimha-p.* which were taken off and given the form of an independent work under the title '*Hārīta-saṃhitā*' or '*Laghu-hārīta-smṛti*' which was derived from the name of the original speaker *Hārīta*. The *Hārīta-saṃhitā* begins as follows:

ye varṇāśrama-dharmasthās te bhaktāḥ keśavam prati/
iti pūrvam tvayā proktam bhūr bhuvah svar dvijottamāḥ//
varṇānām āśramāṇām ca dharmān no brūhi sattama/
yena samtuṣyate devo nārasimhaḥ sanātanah//
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca/
atrāham kathayiṣyāmi purā-vṛttam anuttamam/
ṛṣibhiḥ saha saṃvādam hārītasya mahātmanah//

Of these verses, which are the same as Nar. 57. 8-10, the first shows that something has already been said, of which these verses form a continuation; and in fact the first verse points to Nar. 57. 2-7

341 For the reading '*rājño nāga-kulasya ha*' of the printed ed., the Cal Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36 reads '*rājño vai nākulasya ca*' and the Dacca Univ Mss Nos. 323 and 2713 have '*rājño vai nākulasya ha*' and '*rājño vai nahusasya ha*' respectively.

342 Edited (with a Bengali translation) by Pañcānana Tarlaratna and published by the Vāṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1316 B S.

wherein Mārkaṇḍeya, being asked by king Sahasrānīka, enumerates the characteristics of the devotees of Viṣṇu thus:

viṣṇu-bhaktā mahotsāhā viṣṇuvarcana-vidhau sadā/
 samyatā dharma-saṃpannāḥ sarvārthān sādhayanti te//
 paropakāra-nīratā guru-śuśrūṣane ratāḥ/
 varṇāśramācāra-yutāḥ sarveṣāṃ supriyaṃvadāḥ//
 etc. etc.

Though from a perusal of the Hārīta-saṃhitā we understand that Mārkaṇḍeya reports to a king named Sahasrānīka what Hārīta said to the sages on the duties of the four castes and orders of life, nothing is said in the Hārīta-saṃhitā either about the identity of these two persons or about the occasion, time or place in which they met each other. Even the name of the king is given as late as in chap. 7 (verse 20). But it is the Naraśiṃha-p. which tells us who king Sahasrānīka was and how he met the sage Mārkaṇḍeya. We have already said that the Naraśiṃha-p. is a work meant for the glorification of the worship of Naraśiṃha. This character is betrayed by the Hārīta-saṃhitā also.³⁴³ Moreover, none of the quotations made in their works by Viśvarūpa, Aparārka, Bhavadeva, Jīmūtavāhana, Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa and Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa from Hārīta, Vṛddha-hārīta, Laghu-hārīta, Bṛhaddhārīta and Svalpa-hārīta is to be met with in our so-called Hārīta-saṃhitā. On the other hand, some of the quotations made by Aparārka from the 'Nṛsiṃha-p.' are traceable in the Hārīta-saṃhitā. For example,

the verses quoted from the 'Nṛsiṃha-p.' in Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti,

Hārīta-saṃhitā

p. 79	=	3 12;
p. 125	=	4. 18-20;
p. 153	=	4. 60-61;
p. 189	=	4. 71, 72a and 73a,
p. 965	=	6. 11b-22.

These show that the chapters, now known as Hārīta-saṃhitā or

343 See its introductory verse quoted above; see also Hārīta-saṃhitā 2. 9; 4. 75-76a; 7. 19.

Laghu-hārīta-smṛti, originally belonged to the Narasimha-p. These chapters seem to be based on different Smṛti works such as the Parāśara-smṛti and the Hārīta-dharmaśāstra (as known to Devaṇabhaṭṭa), because Parāśara-smṛti 1.50 (vaiśvadeve tu samprāpte etc.) greatly resembles Nar. 58. 100-101a (akṛte vaiśvadeve tu etc.), and the verse 'anena vidhinā yo hi āśramān upasevate etc.', quoted from the 'Hārīta-dharma-śāstra' in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 174, slightly resembles Nar. 58. 37 (evam yo vidhim āsthāya etc.).

Here we should like to say a few words on the contents of the Narasimha-p. as known to some of the Nibandha-writers. In his Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 351 Raghunandana quotes from the 'Narasimha-p.' twenty-four metrical lines on general maxims (*naya*), such as 'One should give salutary advice to his friend in proper time, even though he may not be asked for it,' 'One, who believes the servants of the king or the bastards, do not live long', 'One should not allow the remaining part of the enemies, debt and fire to continue, because these increase again,' 'One should not begin any work which may create repentance in the end,' and so on. He also quotes in Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 827 a verse on the proper time for marriage. In his Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 66 Raghunandana quotes from the same source a verse in which 'Tulasī' and 'Kṛṣṇa-tulasī' have been mentioned as pleasing to Hari. In his Vidhāna-pārijāta, I, p. 451 Anantabhaṭṭa quotes from the 'Nārasimha' seventeen metrical lines on dressing a child with clothes for the first time. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, ii. pp. 41-49 Hemādri quotes a large extract of 173 metrical lines on a vow called Narasimha-caturdaśī which was given in the 'Narasimha-p.' in connection with the Narasimha-prādurbhāva. In this extract Nṛsimha, being asked by Prahlāda as to how he became devoted to Nṛsimha and was blessed with good, says that in his previous birth Prahlāda was a Brahmin named Vāsudava and was addicted to a prostitute and that this Vāsudeva performed no other good deed than a Vrata of Nṛsimha. Prahlāda again asked Nṛsimha to narrate in details the whole story. Consequently Nṛsimha said that in the city of Avantī there was a famous Brahmin named Suśarman who mastered all the Vedas and performed all his duties. This Suśarman had a chaste and devoted wife named

Suśīlā, who gave birth to five worthy sons, of whom Vāsudeva was the youngest. Unlike the other brothers, Vāsudeva was addicted to prostitutes, became a drunkard, and stole gold for financing his evil deeds. Once he quarrelled with a prostitute and kept awake throughout the whole night without taking food. The prostitute also did so. Thus, Vāsudeva unconsciously performed the Vrata of Nṛsiṃha, was born as Prahlāda, and became devoted to Nṛsiṃha. The prostitute became an Apsaras. Next, being asked by Prahlāda to describe the Vrata in details, Nṛsiṃha did so. Hemādri also quotes verses on Hari-vrata, Pātra-vrata, and offer of different articles such as *kamanḍalu*, fruits, foot-wears, umbrella, clothes etc. to the Pitr̥s in śrāddha ceremonies. Śūlapāni quotes verses on śrāddha in his Vrata-kālaviveka, Śrāddha-viveka and Tithi-viveka. In his Caitanya-caritāmṛta, III, pp. 67 and 289 Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja quotes from the 'Nṛsiṃha-p.' three verses, in one of which it is said that even a Mleccha (i. e. a Muhammadan), who, being attacked by a boar, cries out 'Hārāma' 'Hārāma' ('Boar', 'Boar'), attains final emancipation.³⁴⁴ It is needless to say that none of these verses is found in the present Narasiṃha-p.

In his Haribhaktivilāsa, pp. 923-7 and 929-931 Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes, from the 'Bṛhannarasimha-p.', 126 metrical lines on Narasiṃha-caturdaśī-vrata. As all these verses are found ascribed to the 'Narasimha-p.' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. 11. pp. 41-49, it seems that either Gopālabhaṭṭa was wrong in his ascription of these verses or the 'Bṛhannarasimha-p.' derived some of its extracts and verses from the Narasiṃha-p. In the Ekāmra-p. (chap. 1) the 'Bṛhannarasimha-p.' has been clearly distinguished from the 'Nārasimha', the former being included among the Upapurāṇas and the latter among the principal Purāṇas.

[(A). Many Mss of the Narasiṃha-p. (including those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University) have the following verses after verse 31 of chap. 5 of the printed edition :—

prītyām pulastya-bhāryāyām dattolī tat-suto'bhavat/
tasya vai viśravāḥ putras tat-putrā rāvanādayaḥ//

344 damstri-damstrā-hato mleccho hārāmeti punah punah/
uktvāpi muktīm āpnoti kim punah śraddhayā gr̥nan//

rākṣasā bahavaḥ proktā lankāputra-nivāsinaḥ/
 yeṣāṃ vadhāya lokaśo viṣṇuḥ kṣīrodadhau purā/
 brahmādyaiḥ prārthito devair avatāram ihākarot//
 karddamaś cāmbariṣaś ca sahiṣṇuś ca suta-trayaṃ/
 kṣamā tu suṣuve bhāryā pulahasya prajāpateḥ//
 kratos tu sannatir bhāryā bālakhilyān asūyata/
 śastis tāni sahasrāṇi ṛṣinām ūrdhva-retasām//
 aṅguṣṭha-parva-mātrāṇāṃ jvalad-bhāskara-tejasām//
 pracetaso'tha satyāyām satyasandhās trayah sutāḥ/
 jātās tat-putra-pautrās ca śataśo'tha sahasraśah//
 ūrjāyām ca vasiṣṭhasya saptājāyanta vai sutāḥ/
 rajogātrordhivabāhuś ca sabalaś cānaghas tathā/
 sutapāḥ śukra ity ete sarve saptarṣayo 'bhavan//
 bhṛgoḥ khyātyām samutpannā lakṣmīr viṣṇu-parigrahaḥ/
 tathā dhātṛ-vidhātārau khyātyām jātāu sutāu bhṛgoḥ//
 āyatir niyatiś caiva meroḥ kanye suśobhane/
 dhātur vidhātuś ca te bhārye tayoṛ jātāu sutāv ubhau//
 prāṇaś caiva mṛkaṇḍuś ca mārkaṇḍeyo mṛkaṇḍutah/
 yena mṛtyur jito vipra purā nārāyaṇāśrayāt//
 tato vedaśirā jajñe prāṇasyāpi suto'bhavat/
 dyutimān iti vikhyātaḥ sañjāyas tat-suto'bhavat//
 tato vaṃśo mahābhāga bhārgavo vistaram gataḥ//

See, for instance, chap. 5 of Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 (fol. 7a-b) and 304 (fols. 6b-7a) and Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A (fols. 8b-9b), 323 (fols. 9b-10a), and 2713 (fol. 7a-b). There are some variations in readings in these Mss, which need not be noted here.

(B) After verse 7 of chap. 57 of the printed edition, many Mss including those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University) have the following verses:—

puṣpair araṇya-saṃbhūtaiḥ patrair vā giri-saṃbhavaib/
 aparyuṣita-niśchidraib prokṣitair jantu-varjitaiḥ//
 ātmārāmodbhavaḥ vāpi puṣpaiḥ saṃpūjayeddharim/
 puṣpa-jāti-viśeṣais tu bhavet punyam viśeṣataḥ//

tapah-śīla-gunopeta-pātre vedasya pārage/
 daśa dattvā suvarṇāni yat phalam labhate narah/
 tat phalam labhate martyo harau kumuda-dānatah//
 drona-puspe tathākasmin mādhavāya nivedite/
 daśa dattvā suvarṇāni yat phalam tad avāpnuyāt//
 evam puspa-viśesena phalam tad adhikam nrpa/
 jñeyam puspāntarenaiva yathā syāt tannibodha me//
 drona-puspa-sahasrebhyaḥ khādīram vai viśisyate/
 klādirebhyaḥ sahasrebhyaḥ śamī-puspam viśisyate//
 śamī-puspa-sahasrebhyo bilva-puṣpam viśisyate/
 bilva-puspa-sahasrebhyo vaka-puspam viśisyate//
 vaka-puspa-sahasrāddhi nandyāvartam viśisyate/
 nandyāvarta-sahasrebhyaḥ karavīram viśisyate//
 karavīra-sahasrebhyaḥ śvetam tat puspam uttamam/
 karavīra-śveta-puspāt plalāśam puspam uttamam//
 palāśa-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi kuśa-paspam viśisyate/
 kuśa-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi vanamālā viśisyate//
 vanamālā-sahasrāddhi campakam puṣpam isyate/
 campakānām puṣpa-śatād aśokam puspam uttamam//
 aśokānām sahasrāddhi samantī-puspam uttamam/
 samantī-puspa-sahasrāddhi kubjakam puspam uttamam//
 kubja-puspa-sahasrānām mālātī-puspam uttamam/
 mālātī-puspa-sahasrāddhi sandhyāraktam taduttamam//
 sandhyārakta-sahasrāddhi trisandhyāśvetam uttamam/
 trisandhyāśveta-sahasrāt kunda-puspam viśisyate//
 kunda-puspa-sahasrāddhi śatapattram viśisyate/
 śatapatra-sahasrāddhi mallikā-puspam uttamam//
 mallikā-puspa-sahasrāj jāti-puspam viśisyate/
 sarvāsām puspa-jātīnām jāti-puspam ihottamam//
 jāti-puspa-sahasrena yo mālām nityaśo dadet/
 viṣṇave vidhivad bhaktyā tasya punya-phalam śṛṇu//
 kalpa-kotī-sahasrāṇi kalpa-kotī-śatāni ca/
 vased viṣṇupure śrīmān viṣṇu-tulya-parākramah//
 śeṣāṇām puspa-jātīnām yat phalam vidhinoditam/
 tat-phalasyānusārena viṣṇu-loke mahīyate//

patrāṇy api supuspāṇi hareḥ prīṭikarāṇi ca/
 pravakṣyāmi nrpa-śreṣṭha śṇuṣva gadato mama//
 apāmārga-patram prathamam tasmād bhṛṅgārakam param/
 tasmāt tu khādīram śreṣṭham tataś ca śami-patram//
 dūrvā-patram tataḥ śreṣṭham tato'pi kuśa-patram/
 tasmād āmalakam śreṣṭham tato bilvasya patram//
 bilva-patrād api hares tulasī-patram uttamam//
 eteṣāṃ tu yathālabdhairḥ patrair vā yo'reayeddharim/
 —sarva-pāpa-vinirmukto viṣṇu-loke mahīyate//
 evaṃ hi rājan narasimha-mūrteḥ
 prīyāni puṣpāṇi taveritāni/
 etaiś ca nityaṃ harim arcya bhaktyā
 naro viśuddho harim eva yāti//

See, for instance, chap. 51 of Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 (fols. 77a-78a) and 304 (fols. 82b-83b) and Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A (fols. 118a-119a), 323 (fols. 114a-115a) and 2713 (fols. 86b-87b). There are many variations in readings in these Mss, but these need not be noted here.

Many of these verses are the same as Bhav. I. 163. 57ff. From the position of these verses in the Narasimha-p. it seems that the Narasimha-p. is the borrower. As Gopālabhaṭṭa, Narasimha Vājapecyin, Raghunandana, Govindānanda, Madanapāla and Devaṇabhaṭṭa quote many of these verses in their respective works, it is sure that these verses have been occurring in the Narasimha-p. from a time earlier than Devaṇabhaṭṭa.]

CHAPTER IV

THE MINOR VAISNAVA UPAPURĀṆAS

Besides the Vaisnava Upapurāṇas examined in the immediately preceding Chapter there were many others which dealt with the cult of Viṣṇu and belonged to comparatively late dates; but of these, only a few have come down to us, the rest appearing to have been extinct on account of their importance being restricted to particular localities or times. As, due to various inconveniences, I could not get access to the manuscripts of all those of these extant Upapurāṇas which have not yet been published, my treatment of these works could not be expected to be exhaustive. I should, however, point out that the minor Vaisnava Upapurāṇas, left out of consideration here, are very few (being about two or three in number) and come from very late dates.

From our examination of the Upapurāṇas below we shall see that many of these works were compiled in eastern India, especially in Bengal, under varying circumstances created by the spread of the heresies, mainly Buddhism, and the Tantric cults. A study of the history of Vaiṣṇavism shows that this religious faith, being more closely connected with the Vedas than Śaivism, Śāktism etc., has been used in different ages as a corrective of social indiscipline caused and encouraged by the heresies and the popular cults. Moreover, there were changes in the ideas, rites and customs of the Vaiṣṇavas with the progress of time, and these also must have given them impetus to compile new Upapurāṇic works for the guidance of the people.

1. THE KRIYĀYOGASĀRA¹

In the chapter-colophons of its printed editions as well as of its Mss this work claims to belong to the Padma-p. Hence it has been regarded as one of the Khaṇḍas of the latter and printed accordingly

¹ The Vanga ed of this work consists of 26 chapters and is practically the same as that published with the Venkat. ed. of the Padma-p.

in the Venkat. ed. of the Padma-p. with the words 'atha kriyāyogasāra-khaṇḍam ārabhyate'. But really it is a distinct and independent work attached, most probably at a later date, to the Padma-p. for the sake of authority. It begins like other independent Purāṇic works and styles itself 'Upapurāṇa' in its concluding verse;² and nowhere in the

For Mss of this work see

(1) Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1224-25, No 3898 (complete in 25 chapters and ending with the words 'samāptam cedam upapurāṇam it').

(2) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 14, No. 55 (complete in 25 chapters), and p. 15, No. 56 (incomplete)

(3) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 195, No. 3458, and pp 199-202, Nos 3464-69 (Of these Mss, No 3465 begins from chap 3 of the printed ed., consists of 24 chapters, and is dated Śaka 1618; Nos 3466 and 3469 are incomplete; and the rest are complete in 25 chapters each)

(4) Mitra, Notices, III, pp. 113-6, No 1162 (complete in 25 chapters)

(5) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, p 185, No 299 (complete in 25 chapters).

(6) Keith, Ind Off Cat., II. 1, p. 919, No 6625 (containing 24 chapters, of which the last deals with 'arūhi-māhātmya' and is the same as chap 25 of the printed ed.)

(7) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 328, No 2140 (incomplete)

(8) Chakravarti, Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat Cat., pp. 72-73, Nos. 29-31 (of which the first is incomplete, and the last two consist of 25 chapters each)

(9) List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p 145.

(10) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos 189B, 282A, 44, 641, 920, 996, 1062D, 1399, 1464, 1670, 1724, 2102, 2107E and F, 2791, 3232, 4042, 4095, 4212, and 4242 (of which, Nos. 189B, 920, 1062D, 1399, 1724, 2107E and F, 4042 and 4242 are incomplete; No. 996 consists of 24 chapters, of which the last one is the same as chap. 25 of the printed edition; and the rest are complete in 25 chapters each)

Chap. 5 of the Mss mentioned above has been split up into chaps. 5-6 in the Venkat. and Vāṅga. editions

It is to be noted that all the Mss of the Kriyāyogasāra, hitherto discovered, are written in Bengali script.

(11) A. Weber, Die Handschriften Verzeichnisse De Königlischen Bibliothek (Berlin, 1853), p 131, No. 456

2 Kriyāyogasāra 26 55—

idam atisāya-guhyam nihsrtam vyāsa-vaktrād
ruciram upapurāṇam prūṭam vaiṣṇavānām/
etc. etc. etc.

body of its text there is any reference to its connection with the Padma-p. In some of the chapter-colophons of two of its Mss³ it does not claim to belong to the Padma-p. The Nāradiya-p. (I. 93) also, though giving the names and contents of the different Khaṇḍas of the Padma-p., makes no mention of the Kriyāyogasāra. The independent character of this work is shown definitely by the Brhad-dharma-p. (I. 25.24) which names this work in its list of eighteen Upapurānas.

The Kriyāyogasāra begins with three verses containing salutations to Hari, 'lord of Lakṣmī', who is said to have assumed various forms including that of Vyāsa, the author of the Purānas. It then states that once Sūta came with his pupils to Naimisāranya where the sages were holding a meeting for the good of the world. One of these sages, Śaunaka by name, referred to the evils of the Kali age and requested Sūta to tell them how people could be highly devoted to Hari. Consequently, Sūta reported to the sages what Vyāsa had said to Jaimini on 'kriyāyoga-sāra' (i.e. 'the essence of *yoga* by work'), which was furnished with various stories as well as with discourses on Nārāyaṇa. Thus the topics of the Kriyāyogasāra have been introduced in chap. 1. The contents of the remaining chapters are as follows.

Chap. 2.—Description of the first creation of the universe.—

Mahāviṣṇu's appearance as Brahmā, Viṣnu and Rudra, who were created respectively from the right, left and middle parts of his body; and his Ādyā Prakṛti's assumption of the forms of Brāhmī, Lakṣmī and Ambikā in order to urge and help Brahmā, Viṣnu and Rudra respectively in their works. Brahmā's creation of the five elements as well as of the different *lokas* including the earth.

Geography of the earth (with its continents, oceans and mountains).
Position of Bhāratavarṣa, which is said to be bounded on the north by

In our Venkat. and Vanga editions as well as in some of the Mss of the Kriyāyogasāra the reading 'rucirātara-purānam' is found in place of 'ruciram upapurānam' occurring in the great majority of the Mss mentioned above. Mitra's Ms reads 'sarasātara-purānam' (see Mitra, Notices, III, p. 114).

3 See Dacca Univ Mss Nos. 282A and 1464

the Himalayas and on the south by the Vindhya mountain.⁴ Praise of Bhāratavarṣa as the 'karma-dhūmī' (place of work) for the Vaiṣnavas (called Bhāgavatas). Praise of Vaiṣnavas.

Story of Viṣṇu's killing of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha.

Viṣṇu's enumeration of the characteristics of Vaiṣnavas, who are to look upon Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra as equal, to wear garlands made of Tulasī wood and Dhātrī fruits, to mark their limbs with the figures of *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā* and *padma*, to bathe regularly in the waters of the Gangā, to study the Bhāgavata (*śāstram bhāgavatam*), to construct new Viṣṇu-temples or repair old ones, to plant Pippala (*Aśvattha*) trees, to serve cows and superiors, to have no regard for the Pāṣaṇḍas, to be devoted to Śiva, to worship Viṣṇu, and to do various other works.

Chap. 3.—Praise of 'kriyā-yoga' over 'dhyāna-yoga'. Kriyā-yoga consists of (i) worship of Gaṅgā, Śrī and Viṣṇu, (ii) donation, (iii) devotion to Brahmins, (iv) observance of the Ekādaśī-vrata, (v) regard for Dhātrī trees and Tulasī plants, and (vi) hospitality to guests.⁵

Jaṁini's request to Vyāsa to describe the benefits of the pious acts constituting 'kriyā-yoga'. Vyāsa's consequent praise of the Gangā (which is said to be specially sacred at Gangā-dvāra, Prayāga and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama) by narrating the story of a vulture which described to king Manobhadra of the Lunar race its experience of the benefits of bathing and dying in the waters of the Gangā and the outcome of ignoring one's parents.

Chaps. 4-9.—Praise of the Gangā continued.—Glorification of the waters of, and bath and death in, the Gaṅgā especially at Prayāga and Gangā-sāgara-saṅgama; and narration of various relevant stories⁶ includ-

4 Kriyāyogasāra 2 24b-25a—

hemādri-dakṣiṇam yad vai vindhyaḍrer uttaram tathā/
āhus tad bhāratam varṣam śubhāśubha-phala-pradam//

5 Kriyāyogasāra 3 4-5—

gaṅgā śrīr viṣṇu-pūjā ca dānāni dvija-saṁtama/
brāhmaṇānām tathā bhaktir bhaktir ekādaśī-vrate//
dhātrī-tulasyor bhaktiś ca tathā cātithi-pūjanam/
kriyā-yogāṅga-bhūtāni proktāniti samāsatah//

6 Such as those of (1) a sinful Fowler named Dhanurdhvaja, who, being enaoured of Pālmāvatī, wife of a merchant named Praṇiṭhi, drowned himself

ing the highly interesting love-story of Mādhava and Sulocanā (both of royal descent), in which there are poetic touches at several places.⁷

(For mention of the images of Viṣṇu and Kārttikeya at Gaṅgā-sāgara-sangama, see verses 104-106 of chap. 4 and verses 161ff. of chap. 6).

Benefits accruing to those deceased persons whose bones are thrown into the Gaṅgā.

Method and praise of Gaṅgā-yātrā.

Chap. 10.—Praise of worshipping Viṣṇu (especially with Campaka flowers) and of doing various other pious acts during the month of Māgha.

Chaps. 11-14.—Daily duties which a Vaisnava must do after leaving bed in the morning. Method and praise of worshipping Viṣṇu with the offer of different articles and of rendering various kinds of service to him during the months of Phālguna, Caitra etc. Praise of Viṣṇu-pādodaka. Glorification of Aśvattha trees by identifying them with Viṣṇu. Story of a Brahmin named Dhanañjaya who learnt from

at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā according to the advice of Padmāvatī's friends, became a second husband to Padmāvatī, passed to Viṣṇu's region, and attained a form similar to that of Viṣṇu himself (chap. 4), (2) a Rāksasa named Brhaddhvaja, who, while abducting a married woman named Keśinī with an evil motive, died at Gaṅgā-sāgara sangama and was consequently taken by Viṣṇu-dūtas to Vaikuntha (chap. 4), (3) a Brahmin named Dharmaśva, who, by sprinkling a dying sinner with the waters of the Gaṅgā and by placing a Tulasī leaf on his body, enabled him to escape the hands of Yama-dūtas and attain the region of Viṣṇu (chap. 7), and so on.

7 See, for instance, the following verses —

vanam parityajya kṛṣṇa-bhītyā
jalam pravistā nalinī sukhārtham/
samdahyate tatra himānalena
yad yasya karma na tad anyathā syāt//

(Kṛiyāyogasāra 5. 155).

niśāvaśistā nalinī himākare
dūrikṛte candakarena bhāsvatā/
sugandha-puspa-prakarātisundarī
nāpnoti kim bhrṅga-varasya sangamam//

(Kṛiyāyogasāra 5. 194)

Viṣṇu that by cutting the branch of an Aśvattha tree he hurt Viṣṇu himself.

Praise of painting the figures of *śaṅkha*, *cakra* etc. on the different parts of the body. Results of worshipping Viṣṇu with different kinds of flowers and leaves. Story of a pious Brahmin who learnt from Śiva how, in his previous birth as a Śavara, he acquired merit by supplying a lotus to a Brahmin for Viṣṇu-worship.

Chaps. 15-17.—Glorification of Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa). Results of uttering the name of Rāma and of muttering the six-syllabled *mantra* 'om namo rāmāya'. Praise of Hari-bhakti. Glorification of the twelve-syllabled *mantra* 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya'. Enumeration of the 108 names of Kṛṣṇa (17. 98-117). Narration of relevant stories, one of which (given in chap. 17) is clearly based on the story of the attachment of Bilvamangala (author of the Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta) towards a courtesan named Cintāmaṇi.

Chap. 18.—Praise of Puruṣottamakṣetra.—Praise of the place, praise of food (*anna*) which is offered to Viṣṇu and is said to be acceptable to the members of the higher castes even if it is touched by a Cāṇḍāla,⁸ worship of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā; praise of bath in the Indradyumna-saras, Mārkaṇḍeya-hrada, Śvetagangā etc. and of visiting Śvetamādhava, Hanūmat, the Akṣaya-vata tree etc.; praise of receiving cane-strokes until blood comes out in profusion,⁹ performance of dola-yātrā, mahāsnāna,¹ ratha-yātrā and Guṇḍicāmaṇḍapa-yātrā; and so on.

- 8 cāṇḍālenāpī samsprstaṃ grāhyam tatrānnam agrajaḥ/
sākṣād viṣṇur yatas tatra cāṇḍālo dvija-sattama//

Kṛiyāyogasāra 18. 7

- 9 tatra vetra-prahārena śarīraṃ yasya lohitaṃ/
taṃ vandante dvija-śreṣṭha devāḥ śakrādayo 'kṣulāḥ//

... ..
kadā vetra-prahārena ksetre śrīpuruṣottame/
bhaviṣyanty asmadiyāni lohītāni vapūmsi ca//
vāsavādyāḥ surāḥ sarve tasmīn ksetre varaprade/
sadā vetra-prahārāṃś ca vāñchanti dvija-sattama//

Kṛiyāyogasāra 18 24-28.

Chap. 19.—Praise of revering Viṣṇu and dedicating various kinds of food to him. Praise of Viṣṇu-naivedya. Narration of the stories of Urvīśu (who, although a robber, dedicated to Viṣṇu a cart made of *guda* and was consequently favoured by the deity) and a Brahmin named Sarvajani (who, in his previous birth, got rid of his birthhood by taking Viṣṇu-naivedya).

Qualifications of persons with whom Viṣṇu is satisfied.

Chaps. 20-21.—Praise of giving food, water, land, cows, sesamum, gems, horses, elephants, Śālagrāma stone, *tulā-purusa* etc. Denouncement of a *kanyā-vikrayin* (verses 128-132). Qualifications of Brahmins who are worthy recipients of gifts. Narration of relevant stories.

Chaps. 22-23.—Praise of Ekādaśī-vrata; and the rules for its observance. Narration of relevant stories including that of Pāpa-purusa (a being made of sins) who is to reside in food on the Ekādaśī Tithi.

Chaps. 24-25.—Praise of a Tulasī plant which is said to be capable of conferring on its devotees the four ends of life. Results of rendering various kinds of service to it.

Praise of Dhātṛī trees, which are said to be as sacred as Tulasī plants. Praise of hospitality to guests.

Narration of relevant stories.

Chap. 26.—Conduct of people during the different *yugas*, especially the Kali-yuga.

The above contents of the Kṛiyāyogasāra show that this work is to be valued mainly from the religious point of view. It is a Bhāgavata document on the praise of Viṣṇu-worship. It conceives of Mahāviṣṇu as identical with Parātman and states that this Mahāviṣṇu appears as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra for the sake of creation, and his 'Ādyā Prakṛti, being the cause of the universe, assumes the forms of Brāhmī, Lakṣmī and Ambikā to urge and help Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra respectively in their works. It advocates *bbakti*, lays special stress on *dāśya-bhakti*,¹⁰ and believes that by devoutly worshipping

10 Cf. *tvad-dāśa-dāśa-dāśatvaṁ dāśasya dehi me prabho/*

(Kṛiyāyogasāra 11. 113b).

tvad-dāśa-dāśa-dāśānāṁ dāśatvenāpi mām vṛnu/

(Kṛiyāyogasāra 17. 250b).

Viṣṇu one can attain *sārūpya*, *sālokyā* and *kaivalya*. It is of opinion that a Cāṇḍāla, who is devoted to Viṣṇu, is really superior to a Brahmin who is not so.¹¹ It rarely uses the name 'Kṛṣṇa,' but its mention of Balarāma instead of Kṛṣṇa in its lists of incarnations (including Buddha and Kalkin) shows that it looks upon Kṛṣṇa as identical with Mahāviṣṇu himself. It recommends the study of the Bhāgavata-p., calls the Vaiṣnavas 'Bhāgavata,' and preaches the equality of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.¹² The sectarian *mantras* mentioned in it are the following:- 'om namo nārāyaṇāya,' 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' and 'om namo rāmāya.'

That the Kriyāyogasāra is a work of Bengal,¹³ and most probably of its eastern part, can be shown by the following pieces of evidence. (1) Mss of this work are found in Bengal in large numbers, but they are very rare in other provinces. (2) All of the numerous Mss of this work, hitherto discovered and preserved in different places in and outside India, are written in Bengali script. (3) That this work was very popular in Bengal is shown by the fact that it was translated into Bengali by different authors at different times. In the Dacca University collection there are several Mss of Bengali translations of this work by different writers, viz., Ananta Datta, Rāmeśvara Nandī, Prāṇa-nārāyaṇa and Śiva-nārāyaṇa.¹⁴ (4) It was the writers of Bengal who first recognised the Kriyāyogasāra as an authoritative work. The Bṛhad-dharma-p., which is the first and most probably the only work to include the Kriyāyogasāra among the 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas, belongs

11 harer abhaktō viprō'pi vijñeyah śvapacādhikah/
hari-bhaktah śvapāko'pi vijñeyo brāhmanādhikah//
Kriyāyogasāra 16. 3

12 Cf. brahma-visnu-maheśānām madhye ye bheda-kāriṇah/
... .. tesām ruṣṭo'smy aham sadā//
Kriyāyogasāra 19. 103b-104a.

13 In his Essays Analytical, Critical and Philological (p 82) Wilson says that the Kriyāyogasāra 'is most probably the work of a Brahman of Orissa, or Bengal' and that it 'does not appear to be known in the South of India'.

14 See Dacca Univ Mss Nos. 4158, 662 and K507 (author—Ananta Datta), No. 1341 (author—Rāmeśvara Nandī), No. K23 (author—Prāṇa-nārāyaṇa), and No. K206 (author—Śiva-nārāyaṇa).

decidedly to Bengal. (5) Although the Kriyāyogasāra says that the Gaṅgā is specially sacred at three places, viz., Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāga and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, it gives more attention to the praise of the last one. (6) The fruits and flowers, mentioned in the Kriyāyogasāra, are very common in Bengal. (7) The description of Mādhava's marriage with Sulocanā, as given in chap. 5 of the Kriyāyogasāra, includes certain rites which are peculiar to Bengal. These rites are (a) the performance of *adhivāsa* of the bride on the day immediately preceding that of marriage, and the tying of Dūrvā grass to her hand with a few folds of thread on this occasion,¹⁵ (b) the sounding of conch-shells before marriage,¹⁶ and (c) the taking of the bride, seated on a flat seat (pīṭha—popularly called *पीठ* in Bengal) of 'Gambhārī wood,' by her paternal blood-relations to the bridegroom in the marriage-pandal at the time of marriage.¹⁷ It is to be noted that Gambhārī wood is very commonly used for making seats, boats etc. in Eastern Bengal and Assam (especially in the districts of Mymensingh, Sylhet, Tipperah etc.). In the vernacular works of mediaeval Bengal, there are numerous references to the use of 'Gīmārī' or 'Gāmbhārī' wood for the construction of various things such as boats and flat seats (popularly called *पीठ* and meant for use especially in marriage), and so on.¹⁸ (8) Some words have been used in the same peculiar meanings as they are found to carry in present-day Bengal.—(a) The word 'prastāva' has been used in the sense of 'story,' 'account' etc. in Kriyāyogasāra 6. 125 (sulocanāyāḥ prastāvaṃ kathayāmāsa bhūtale). It should be mentioned here that this word is found to be used in the above-mentioned

15 Kriyāyogasāra 5. 97; 5. 112 (adyādhivāsanam karma śvo vivāho mama dhruvam), 5. 198 (adhivāsana-sūtrāṇi sadūrvāṇi bhuje mama); and 6. 129 (athādhivāsanam karma śvo vivāho mama dhruvam).

16 Ibid., 5. 149.

17 Ibid., 5. 152—

gambhārī-kāstha-racitam pīṭham āruhya sundarī/

jñātibhir vestitā yātā vara-sthānam sulocanā//

18 See, for instance, Bhavānanda's Harivamśa, p. 50 (lines 2058-59—
भाङ्गा नाश्रो नहे मोर गमारोर सार । आलुक्क मानुष हस्ती घोडा करि पार ॥)
and Mukundarāma's Kavi-kankana-candī, p. 395 (गाम्भारि-पीठे)

It is needless to say, that both these works are written in Bengali.

sense in Eastern Bengal only. (b) The word 'nikāṭa' has been used in the sense of 'to' or 'near' in *Kriyāyogasāra* 5. 121 (gatvā tannikāṭe) and 160 (asau duḥkhāgatā kanyā varasya nikāṭe 'dhunā). (c) The word 'sādhu' has been used in the sense of 'merchant' in *Kriyāyogasāra* 4.50 (tām sādhu-patnīm ādāya yayuh...). This word has been used in the above-mentioned sense in the *Hitopadeśa*, which is, in all probability, a work of Bengal. (d) The word 'kallola' has been used in the sense of 'rinsing' in *Kriyāyogasāra* 10.21 (kuryād dvādaśa viprendra kallolāni jalair budhah) and 22. 90 (kallolair mukha-śuddhiṃ tu kuryād dvādaśabhir budhah). This word seems to be the Sanskritised form of the word 'कुल्कुलि' as used in Eastern Bengal to mean 'rinsing.' It has also some resemblance with the word 'कुलि' (meaning 'rinsing') used in western and other parts of Bengal. (e) The root 'nī' has been used in the sense of 'grah' (to take) in *Kriyāyogasāra* 6. 148 (vipattyām yena hastena nayet pāda-rajah khalu/śirah kṛntati tenaiva svāminah prāpya saṃpadam//). (9) Some expressions have been formed in imitation of those in Bengali. As an instance we may cite *Kriyāyogasāra* 6. 100-101—kanyāyā dūṣaṇam nāsti nāsti vidyādharaṣya vā//, mamaiva dūṣaṇam sarvaṃ yato hūnasya saṅgabhāk// (Cf. Bengali—কন্যার দোষ নাই, আমারই সব দোষ). (10) The method of carrying water in pitchers, as referred to in the verse 'ityālocya varārohā savya-kacche ghaṭam tatah//, lṛtvā palāyane bhītyā manaś cakre sarovarāt//' (5.28), is very common with the women of Bengal.

The *Kriyāyogasāra* is not a very early work. It is quite familiar with the names of the zodiacal signs,¹⁹ praises the Tulasī plant on many occasions, mentions the Buddha incarnation in two places,²⁰ and recommends the study of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* (bhāratam vyāsa-bhāṣitam) and the *Bhāgavata*-p.²¹ In chap. 17 it contains a story which is clearly an imitation of that of *Bilvamaṅgala*. Hence the *Kriyāyogasāra* cannot be dated earlier than 700 A.D. Again, a

19 *Kriyāyogasāra* 4. 6, 10, 15 etc.; 13. 75.

20 Ibid., 6. 188, and 11. 94.

21 Ibid., 2. 94 (śālagrāma-śilā yesām grhe vasati sarvadā/ śāstram bhāgavatam caiva jñeyas te vaiṣṇavā jñāh//); and 22. 137 (rāmāyaṇam bhāgavatam bhāratam vyāsa-bhāṣitam/, anyāni ca purāṇāni pāthyāni hari-vāṣare//).

Ms of this work is dated 1556 Śaka²²; and the Brhaddharma-p., which was written in Bengal either in the latter half of the thirteenth or in the former half of the fourteenth century A.D.,²³ mentions the Kṛiyāyogasāra in its list of Upapurāṇas and thus recognises this work as highly authoritative. Hence the *Kṛiyāyogasāra must have been written at least two centuries earlier, i.e. not later than the eleventh century A. D.* The facts that the Kṛiyāyogasāra has very little Tantric influence and that, unlike the Mahābhāgavata and the Brhaddharma-p., it pays no attention to Tantric Śāktism, show that it is to be dated earlier than the Mahābhāgavata²⁴ also. *It is highly probable that this work was written towards the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century A.D.*

The mention of 'Yavana' in the line 'ahanan niśitaiḥ khadgair niśāyām yavanopamaḥ' (7.62) need not be taken to assign the Kṛiyāyogasāra to a date posterior to that of Muhammadan conquest of Bengal. As there is no second mention of Yavanas in this work, it seems that the Muhammadans were still outside Bengal and that the author of the Kṛiyāyogasāra had no direct knowledge of the evils of Muhammadan rule.

A study of the Kṛiyāyogasāra shows that at the time of composition of this work there was a great spread of the 'Pāṣaṇḍas' who disregarded Viṣṇu²⁵ and encouraged people to neglect the Vedas and the Purāṇas,²⁶ to dispossess Brahmīns of their landed property,²⁷ to

22 See Dacca Univ. Ms No. 1670.

23 The questions of date and provenance of the Brhaddharma-p. will be discussed fully in another Volume of the present work.

24 The Mahābhāgavata was written about the tenth or eleventh century A. D. For the date of this work see Vol. II of the present work.

25 Cf. pākhandānām samīpe/.....na kuryād dvija pūjanam//—Kṛiyāyogasāra 14 3.

vāsudevasya mātmyam śrutvā/ pākhandā na hi tṛpyanti//
pākhandānām samīpe tu viṣṇu mātmyam...../ na vaktavyam//—
Kṛiyāyogasāra 19. 3 4.

26 Cf. na vedādhyayanam cakre purāṇāni ca sarvaśah/
tatyājottama-samjñām ca pākhandā-jana sangamāt//
Kṛiyāyogasāra 17.11.

27 Cf. pākhandā-jana-vākyena mayā bhūmir dvijanmanah/ langhitā
... ..//—Kṛiyāyogasāra 6 22.
pākhandair bodhito 'yaṁ tu jahāra dvija-śāsanam —Kṛiyāyogasāra 6.27.

punish honest men,²⁸ and to do various other acts of violence. It should be mentioned here that by the term 'Pāṣaṇḍa' the Kriyāyogasāra means those people, especially the red-robed Buddhists, who were regardless of the Vedic injunctions and followed the non-Vedic rites and customs.²⁹ As the spread of these Pāṣaṇḍas was unfavourable to the Varṇāśramadharma and Viṣṇu-worship, the Kriyāyogasāra advised people not even to speak with these Pāṣaṇḍas³⁰. It decried those who took beef,³¹ and preached the Vedic rites as lawful (dharma).³² It prescribed the use of only the Vedic and the Purāṇic *mantras*,³³ encouraged the study of the Vedas and the Purāṇas, praised the performance of the 'five great sacrifices' (pañca-mahāyajña),³⁴ and added great importance to the observance of the Vedic rules of castes and orders of life. It should be noted that in trying to popularise his religious faith as well as to establish the Vedic rules of life and conduct, the author of the Kriyāyogasāra, like those of the Mahābhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p., utilised the river Gaṅgā, which he regarded as much sacred as Viṣṇu.³⁵ Although this river played a very prominent part in the religious and cultural life of the Hindus, no importance was attached to it by the followers of the heresies. Āryadeva's Ciitaviśuddhi-prakaraṇa clearly shows how much the Buddhists denounced the Brahmanical practice of bathing in the

28 Cf. pākhaṇḍī-mantriṇām vākyaḥ vinā doṣaḥ api dvija/
... .. daṇḍyante sādhaso janāḥ//—

Kriyāyogasāra 10. 40.

29 Kriyāyogasāra 17. 77 (ye veda-saṃmatam kāryam tyaktvānyat karma kurvate/, nijācāra-vihinā ye pākhaṇḍās te prakīrtitāḥ//); and 26. 20b-21a (pāṣaṇḍa-saṅgha-baddhāś ca bhaviṣyanti kalau yuge/, rakṣāmbarā bhaviṣyanti brāhmaṇāḥ śūdra-dharmināḥ//).

30 Kriyāyogasāra 9. 16 (pākhaṇḍa-saṅgam eva.....varjayet); 17. 67 (tyaja pāṣaṇḍa-saṃsargam); and 22. 129 (na pākhaṇḍajanālāpaḥ kartavyaḥ/ pākhaṇḍālāpa-mātreṇa sarva-dharmo vinasīyati//).

31 Kriyāyogasāra 4. 83; and 7. 60.

32 Kriyāyogasāra 7. 78 (kāryam veda-niśiddham yat tat pātakam iti smṛtam/, yad veda-saṃmatam kāryam tad eva dharmyam ucyate//).

33 Kriyāyogasāra 11. 79ff.

34 Ibid., 22. 136; 17. 70ff.

35 Ibid., 7. 79—yathā viṣṇuḥ tathā gaṅgā gaṅgaiva sarvapāpahā.

Gaṅgā to remove sin and acquire merit.³⁶ So, the authors of the Purāṇas spared no pains to establish the sanctity and divinity of this river and to connect it with the Vedic ideas on the one hand and their respective deities on the other.

2. THE ĀDI-PURĀṆA

An Ādya- or Ādi-purāṇa is mentioned in most of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas and has been drawn upon extensively by almost all the Nibandha-writers. We have also got an Ādi-purāṇa preserved in Mss³⁷ and published by the Venkateśvara Press, Bombay, and by Navīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā (with a Bengali translation), Calcutta. We shall see below that these two Ādi-purāṇas are quite distinct in character and belong to different dates.

36 In the *Cittaviśuddhi-prakarana* Āryadeva says: "If salvation could be attained by means of Ganges water, then fishermen would all attain salvation, and more particularly the fishes, which are in the Ganges day and night." (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 351).

37 For Mss of the Ādi-p. see

(1) Mitra, *Notices*, II, pp. 18-20, No. 553.

[This is an undated Ms written in Bengali characters and consisting of 25 chapters. It begins with verse 1 (jayati yaśodā-sūnuh etc.) of chap. 5 of the printed eds, and ends with the concluding verse (idam mayā te kathitam mahādbhutam etc.) of the latter. Its contents, as given by Mitra, agree generally with those of chaps. 5-29 of the printed eds.]

(2) Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1184-85.

[No. 3335 — This is a complete Ms written in Devanāgarī script and copied in 1799 A.D. It consists of 52 chapters, but its 52nd chapter, which deals with Kamsa-vadha, is called the 51st in the final colophon (iti śrī-ādi-purāṇe nārada-śaunakādi-samvāde kamsa-vadho nāmaikapāñcāśattamo'dhyāyah samāptah). It begins, like Mitra's Ms, with verse 1 of chap. 5 of the printed eds. but contains a second introductory verse (na khalu bala-vilāsa° etc.) which is not found in the printed eds. Its first 25 chapters have general agreement, as regards contents, with Mitra's Ms and with chaps. 5-29 of the printed eds. Of the remaining chapters, chap. 32 deals with Dhenuka-pūrva-jaṇma-kathana, chap. 39 with Rāsa-kṛidā-vilāsa, chaps. 42-44 with the description of different kinds of nāyakas and nāyikās, chap. 45 with nāma-māhātmya, and the rest with the different deeds and exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

No. 3336. — This Ms also is written in Devanāgarī script. It was copied in

(1). The Ādi-p., published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, and by Navīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā, Calcutta, consists of 29 chapters, of which the

1804 A.D. According to Eggeling, it is 'evidently a reproduction of the preceding Ms with all its mistakes and an additional supply of its own']

(3) Shastri, ASB Cat, V, pp 708-9.

[No. 4072.—This is a complete Ms written in Nāgara script and dated Samvat 1869. For a 'full description' of this Ms, Shastri refers to the Ind Off. Cat., VI, No. 3335.

No. 4073.—This Ms also is complete. It is written in Nāgara script and dated Samvat 1708. It consists of 51 chapters, of which the last one deals with Kamsa vadha. Its last colophon ends with the words 'samāptaś cāyam pūrva-khaṇḍah'.]

(4) Adyar Library Cat, Part I, p. 157.

(5) List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 185.

(6) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 199.

(7) Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 329 and 337.

(8) Bhandarkar, Report, p. 10.

(9) Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 48, No. 1026.

For short Mss of Stava, Māhātmya etc, claiming to be parts of the Ādi-p., see

(1) Shastri, ASB Cat, V, pp. 709-710.

[No. 4074 (Ms No. 3355).—This is a complete Ms dealing with Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya. It consists of 7 folios and is written in Bengali characters of 'the early nineteenth century'. It is quite different from chap. 45 (on nāma-māhātmya) of Ind Off. Cat., VI, No. 3335 and ASB Cat, V, No. 4072. Its colophon runs as follows: ity, ādi-purāṇe śrīkr̥ṣṇaījuna-samvāde śrīviṣṇoḥ nāma-māhātmyam samāptam.

No. 4075 (Ms No. 4022)—This is another Ms of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya claiming to belong to the Ādi-p., although in its colophon the title of the work is given as 'Vaiṣṇavāmṛta'. This Ms also is written in Bengali characters 'of the nineteenth century', begins with the same verse as that of the immediately preceding Ms (of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya), contains an interlocution between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, deals with Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya, and has the same text as that of the immediately preceding Ms.]

(2) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat, II, Part i, p. 905 (Citrakūṭa-māhātmya) and pp. 905-6 (Vitastā-stava).

(3) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 199.

(4) Winternitz, Cat. of South Indian Sans. Mss, pp. 267-9, No. 198 (Madhyama-bhāga of the Hemakūṭa-khaṇḍa of the Bharadvāja-saṃhitā of the Ādi-mahāpurāṇa).

first four are found neither in the Ms of the Ādi-p. noticed by R. L. Mitra nor in those described by H. P. Shastri and Eggeling. It ends with the chapter on *yamalārjuna-bhanga* (breaking of the pair of Arjuna trees), an exploit of the infant Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana. A comparison of this printed Ādi-p. with Shastri and Eggeling's Mss shows that the former does not represent the entire Ādi-p. but contains only a part of it. This fragmentary character of the printed edition is also shown by its chap. 6 which mentions the different incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa's life from his birth to his exploits at Mathurā and Dvāravatī. It is highly probable that Shastri and Eggeling's Mss also do not comprise the whole work known under the title 'Ādi-p.', because these Mss end with Kṛṣṇa's exploits at Mathurā and record none of the incidents at Dvāravatī, and in the second of the two complete Mss of the Ādi-p. described by H. P. Shastri, the final colophon ends with the words 'samāptaś cāyam pūrva-khandah'. Of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Ādi-p. we know nothing at present. It seems to have dealt with Kṛṣṇa's exploits at Dvāravatī.

The printed Ādi-p., which calls itself the essence of all the Purāṇas,³⁸ begins with the verse 'rajojuṣe janmani sattva-vṛttaye', the first two quarters of which are the same as those of the first introductory verse of Bānabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī. This introductory verse as well as a few others which follow it contains salutations to Viṣṇu and Vyāsa, of whom the former is described as 'cinmātra-rūpa' and 'paramātmā-rūpin' and is called Brahma, when consisting of pure consciousness, and Māyeśvara, when taking the human form,³⁹ while the latter, who is a form of Viṣṇu, is said to have divided the original Veda and given it to his disciples, to have composed a Purāṇa-saṃhitā after collecting the anecdotes (itihāsa) from the Veda, and to have written the Brahma-sūtra in order to elucidate the meaning of this Purāṇa-saṃhitā, the Bhāgavata-p. as a commentary on the Brahma-

38 See the chapter-colophons (of the Venkat ed.), in most of which this Purāṇa is called 'sakala-purāṇa-sāra-bhūta'.

It should be mentioned here that our reference in the following pages are generally to the Venkat. ed., unless otherwise mentioned

39 Ādi-p. 1. 2a—brahmeti yasya nigamair vivṛtaś cidamśo māyeśvarah purusa-rūpa-dharo yadamśah/.....

sūtra, and the present Ādi-p. to embody the essence of all these works.⁴⁰ Next, after praising the Naimiṣa forest as the Viṣṇu-vana (forest of Viṣṇu) and the best of all holy places, this Purāṇa states that once Sūta came to the hermitage of Śaunaka in this forest during a twelve-year sacrifice instituted by the latter and was duly received by the sages. (—Chap. 1). When Sūta took his seat, Śaunaka praised his presence as productive of immense good, asked him to take rest, and retired to the fire-sanctuary (agni-grha) to perform his own evening duties. (—Chap. 2). When, after taking rest, Sūta returned to Śaunaka in company with the sages, the latter described the evils of the Kali age⁴¹ and requested the former to tell them how people could get rid of these evils and to describe, in connection with Kṛṣṇa 'the lord of cowherdesses', the essence of the Purāṇas, Itihāsa, Dharmaśāstras and the work of Bādarāyaṇa (i.e. the Brahmasūtra). (—Chap. 3). The other sages also requested Sūta to speak on the way of attaining devotion to Hari. Consequently, Sūta saluted Kṛṣṇa (whom he described as 'cidānandamaya' and 'trimūrtika') and Vyāsa, and consented to reproduce the Ādi-purāṇa which he had heard from his teacher Vyāsa and which was the essence of all Śāstras. (—Chap. 4).

In chap. 5 we are told that Vyāsa heard from Nārada this Ādi-p. which was proclaimed originally by Sanatkumāra.⁴² It is said that once, in course of his wanderings, Nārada came to Vyāsa's hermitage on the bank of the Sarasvatī and was warmly received there by Vyāsa's pupils, and that being requested by these pupils to speak on the means of getting rid of Viṣṇu-māyā which steepes the whole creation in nescience, Nārada spoke about Kṛṣṇa, who is one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and of whom he had heard from Kumāra.⁴³

40 Ādi-p. 1. 8-13.

41 Speaking of the bad effects of the Kali age the Ādi-p. says that people will become non-believers and look upon the Śālagrāma as a piece of stone meant for measurement of weight, and that one's wife's brothers will be one's best advisers (Ādi-p. 3. 7 and 19).

42 sanatkumāroktam idam purāṇam yato na kimcit param asti pūrvam/
mayā śrutam nāradata badaryāṃ śraddhālunā cādi-purāṇa-samjñam//
Ādi-p. 5 2.

43 Ādi-p. 5. 3-13.

Thus the topics of the present Ādi-p. have been introduced in the printed edition. The Mss of the Ādi-p., on the other hand, make no mention of Sūta or Vyāsa but simply say that once, in course of his wanderings, Nārada came to Naimiṣāranya in order to see Śaunaka and others and had a warm reception from the sages living there. It was at their request to speak on the means of getting rid of Viṣṇu-māyā that Nārada narrated the contents of the present Ādi-p.

That the present beginning of the printed edition is due to a change made at a later date by the addition of its first four chapters, is shown not only by Shastri and Eggeling's Mss of the Ādi-p. but also by the mention of Nārada and Śaunaka as interlocutors in the colophons of all the chapters from chap. 5 of the printed edition. It is to be noted that in chap. 5 of the printed edition Nārada speaks to Vyāsa and his pupils, and not Śaunaka.

Though the beginning of the printed Ādi-p. is different from those of the Mss, it deals, like chaps. 1-25 of the latter, mainly with the story of Kṛṣṇa—the legendary account of the birth of Kṛṣṇa as well as of Baladeva, Vasudeva's eulogy of Kṛṣṇa and his removing of the newborn child to Nanda's house, the merry-makings in Nanda's house on the occasion of Kṛṣṇa's birth, the ceremony of naming Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva as performed by Garga, and the incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa's infancy, viz., his killing of the demoness Putanā and of the demon Tṛṇāvarta, his breaking of a cart, his childish sports with his foster-mother Yaśodā as well as with other cowherdesses (such as those of his stealing milk, curd and butter and shating these with his associates, his breaking of utensils, his escape on more occasions than one from the midst of cowherdesses who tried to capture him, his passing the night with all the gopikās separately in their respective houses, and so on), his defeat in a wrestling competition with Baladeva, and his breaking of a pair of Arjuna trees when he was tied by Yaśodā to a mortar.

In connection with this story, the following topics have been dealt with in the printed editions:—The benefits of worshipping Kṛṣṇa by forsaking all contact with women; characteristics of the devotees of Hari; description and praise of Mathurā-mandala, in which Vṛndāvana is situated, praise of Vṛndāvana, which is called the most favourite

place and the eternal abode of Kṛṣṇa and in which Kṛṣṇa's sports and exploits are always to be experienced through love and devotion, characteristics of a love-messenger (*dūtī*); description of the Kali age; a summary of the Rāmāyaṇa; and Yaśodā's seeing the universe in Kṛṣṇa's mouth.

In order to glorify Kṛṣṇa, a few subsidiary stories have been introduced; viz., Nārada's meeting with Viṣṇu in Śveta-dvīpa and the latter's narration of the story of ten sages who meditated on Kṛṣṇa (the delighter of gopikās—gopikā-ramaṇa) of Vṛndāvana in order to experience his sports; Nārada's bath in the Mānasa lake, his consequent attainment of an extremely beautiful female form, and his experience of Kṛṣṇa's allaying the jealous anger of Rādhā as well as of his Rāsa-līlā and other sports at Vṛndāvana with the gopīs, especially with Rādhā, the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu; Nārada's attainment of a male body by bathing in the Kṛṣṇa-gaṅgā and his experience of Kṛṣṇa's Vraja-līlā, which is 'nitya' (permanent) and in which Kṛṣṇa tends cattle with his friends and associates and is received in the evening by his foster-mother and other cowherdresses; Viṣṇu's narration to Brahmā of the story of his taking the form of a bee and describing the love-sport (*prema-līlā*) of the love-smitten (*śṛṅgāra-rasa-vihvala-mānasa*) Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana with innumerable gopīs who are called the images of his own image (viz., Rādhā)⁴⁴, with the mention of the lineage of Nanda and Rādhā⁴⁵ as well as the names of the eight principal female friends of Rādhā, the principal gopīs⁴⁶ who attend upon Kṛṣṇa, and Kṛṣṇa's associates (including Rādhā's four brothers named Vṛṣavṛdhnu, Manah-saukhya, Stokakṛṣṇa and Sudāman) who play and tend cattle with him and never grow old or die; rebirth of Cārumatī, daughter of the sage

44 Ādi-p. 10 35-36 (... svabimbapratibimbena kṛdate vipine 'nīśam).

45 Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛṣṇa, is said to be the youngest son of Citrasena, who, again, was the youngest son of Kālamedu, the great-grandson of Ābhīrabhānu, the lord of *gopas*, of Mahāvana. Rādhikā was born of Mānavī by Vṛṣabhānu, the great-grandson of Āsisena (Ārstisena?), the Mahāgopa, of the village Ārstigrāma (See Ādi-p, chap 12).

46 The long list of the names of these principal gopīs includes the following.—Mālatī, Madālasā, Citrā, Vetravatī, Kalāvati, Sunandā, Viśākhā, Sārikā, Mādhavī, Candrāvalī, Bhadrāvalī, Campāvatī, Tilottamā, Alayā and Tārāvalī.

Kālabhīru, as the demoness Putanā due to the curse of her husband Kaksīvat, who was offended with Cārumatī on account of her illicit connection with a Śūdra; rebirth, in the form of the demon Tṛṇāvarta, of the Bhāgavata king Viśvaratha of Drāvida who gave trouble, under suspicion of thieving, to a Brahmin Vaiṣṇava who was returning at night after attending a 'kīrtana,' and so on.

In Shastri and Eggeling's Mss of the Ādi-p., the story of Kṛṣṇa further continues up to the killing of Kamsa at Mathurā and includes the following incidents:—Kṛṣṇa's killing of Vatsāsura, Bakāsura, Aghāsura, Dhenuka, Pralamba and others, and his chastisement of the serpent Kālīya, Brahmā's experience of Viṣṇu-māyā, Kṛṣṇa's uplifting of the mountain Govardhana, and his Rāsa-kṛidā; and so on. In these Mss there are also chapters on the praise of gopīs, the different kinds of nāyakas and nāyikās (including a section on 'svakīya-bheda-varṇana'), the glory of the name of Kṛṣṇa (nāma-māhātmya), the description of the seasons Vasanta, Grīśma, Śarat and Hemanta, and so on. There are also a few subsidiary stories such as that of the previous birth of the demon Dhenuka.

From the contents of the present Ādi-p. indicated above, it is clear that this Purāṇa is solely dedicated to the promulgation of faith in Kṛṣṇa, who, unlike the other gods, is kind to both friends and foes. In this work Kṛṣṇa is regarded not only as an incarnation of Viṣṇu but as the Bhagavat himself⁴⁷ and the eternal Brahma. He is the individual and the Supreme Soul,⁴⁸ and is both one and many. Though, in his supreme state, he is formless and has no beginning or end, he manifests himself in different forms through *guṇa*. Being 'rasākrsta,' he sports permanently, at Vṛndāvana with gopīs, especially with Rādhā who is called his Parā Vidyā, Parā Śakti, and Hlādinī Śakti⁴⁹ and who does not seem to be his wedded wife, but no male can experience these sports unless he turns a female.⁵⁰ Kṛṣṇa's Vraja-līlā, on the other hand, is said to be

47 Ādi-p 12. 13-163, and also 6 7, 9.58, and so on.

48 Ibid, 17 74.

49 Ibid., 13 57-58.

50 Cf Ibid, 13. 52-53—

nāvalokayitum śaktah pumstvena purusarsabha /
atas tavādhikāro'stī strirūpasya varānane //

open to his male devotees. People are advised to devote themselves solely to the worship of Kṛṣṇa⁵¹ and to look upon women as obstacles in the way of their spiritual development. They are to practise love and devotion in such a way that they should always be ready to do good to others and should not be affected in the least or try for a remedy, even if they are insulted, oppressed, beaten, or killed by others.⁵² According to this Purāṇa, 'bhajana' (i.e. kīrtana), based on *prema* and *bhakti*, is the best way of Kṛṣṇa-worship and is superior to *yoga*, *dāna* etc.; and all the members of the four castes without distinction of age or sex, as well as Antyajās, Pulkasas and Mlecchas are entitled to worship Kṛṣṇa.⁵³

The present Ādi-p., as its contents show, can never claim an early origin. None of the numerous verses, ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' by Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Vallālasena, Hemādri, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya, Sūlapāṇi, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Śināthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Narasimha Vājayeyin, Anantabhaṭṭa, Gadādhara and many other Nibandha-writers in their respective works, is found in the printed Ādi-p. In the Haribhaktivilāsa (of Gopālabhaṭṭa),⁵⁴ Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta (of Sanātana Gosvāmin)⁵⁵

51 Ādi. 26. 38ff.

52 Ādi-p 8. 16-18—

ksiptāvamānitā dhvastās tādītāḥ pīditā api/
na vikriyā prabhavati pratikāram na kurvate//
hitaṁ kurvanti sarvesāṁ karuṇā dīna-vatsalāḥ/
titiksavo'lpavāco hi mahānto loka-pāvanāḥ/
te priyāḥ śrīharer bhaktāḥ prema-mādhvika-maksikāḥ//

53 Ādi-p. 28 52—

sarve'dhikāriṇo varnā āśramāḥ śīśavaḥ striyaḥ/
antya-jāḥ pulkasā mlecchā ye cānye pāpa-yonayaḥ//

54 On p. 524 of his Haribhaktivilāsa Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes from an Ādi-p nine verses on the praise of devotees of Kṛṣṇa, and on pp. 612, 634, 678 and 683 he quotes from the same source thirteen more verses on Kṛṣṇa-nāma mātā-tmya. In quoting some of these verses he uses the words 'ādi-purāṇe śrīkṛṣṇa-ārjuna-samvāde'. But none of these verses occurs in the chapter (viz, chap. 45) on 'nāma-mātā-tmya' contained in the Mss of the Ādi-p described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1184-85, Nos 3335-36, and by H. P. Shastri in his ASB Cat., V, pp. 708-9, Nos. 4072-73.

55 The Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta quotes from the 'Ādi-p'. nine verses in which

and a few other works of the later Vaisnava writers of Bengal a number of verses has been quoted from an 'Ādi-p.', and in these quoted verses Kṛṣṇa speaks to Arjuna on the praise of the name and devotees of Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa). Although some of these verses have been ascribed by Gopālabhaṭṭa definitely to a 'Śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṁvāda in the Ādi-purāṇa' (ādi-purāṇe śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṁvāde) and a number of them occurs in the manuscripts of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya⁵⁶ consisting of a 'Śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṁvāda' and claiming to belong to the Ādi-p., we are not sure that the Ādi-p., of which this Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya claims to be a part, is the same as that found in the printed editions and the Mss mentioned above. On the other hand, Mitra Miśra, though not quoting any verses from the present Ādi-p., must have been quite familiar with this work; because, after giving two lists of Upapurāṇas from the 'Kūrma-p.' and the 'Brahmavaivarta-p.', Mitra Miśra quotes Matsya-p. 53. 59b-63 in support of the view that the Upapurāṇas originated from the major 'Purāṇas', and then exemplifies this view by naming the Nandikeśvara-p., Ādi-p. and Devī-p., which, he says, were recognised as Upapurāṇas by great men (mahājana-parigrhītāni) and of which the first and the third are not mentioned in any of the two lists of Upapurāṇas given by Mitra Miśra. Hence it is

Kṛṣṇa speaks to Arjuna on the praise of the votaries of Kṛṣṇa, of the devoted gopikās, and of Vṛndāvana, and one of which is the same as a verse quoted from the Ādi-p. in Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 524.

The Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta, which consists of two Khandas—Pūrva and Uttara named as Kṛṣṇāmṛta and Bhaktāmṛta respectively, must be the same as the 'Bhāgavatāmṛta' which Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja ascribes to Sanātana and from which he learnt 'bhakti-tattva' and 'kṛṣṇa-tattva'. See Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Caitanya-caritāmṛta, II, p. 111—sanātana kaila grantha bhāgavatāmṛte/ bhakti-tattva kṛṣṇa-tattva jāni yāhā haite/). But in the introduction to their edition of the Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta Balai Chand Goswami and Atul Krishna Goswami say that this work was written by Rūpa Gosvāmī.

56 For the verses ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 524, p. 612, p. 634, p. 678, and p. 683 see Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya (ASB Ms No. 3355), fols. 2a (lines 2, 4, 8-9), 2b, etc., fol. 5a (lines 3-4), fol. 4a (lines 1-3), fols. 6a (line 9), 6b (lines 3, 6), fols. 2b (line 4), 4a (lines 2, 1, 7-9), 6a (lines 7-8) and 5a (line 8).

The verses ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta, pp. 177, 182-3 and 184 do not occur in the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya.

sure that the 'Ādi-p.' also (which Mitra Miśra recognised as an Upapurāṇa, because it was recognised as such by great men) must be different from the first Upapurāṇa which is mentioned in the lists with the words 'ādyam sanatkumāroktam,' and 'ādyam sanatkumāram ca' respectively. A comparison between the printed Ādi-p and the present Brahmavaivarta-p. shows that the story of Kṛṣṇa, as given in the latter work, is decidedly of a later date. On the other hand, the present Ādi-p. holds the Tulasī plant in high esteem and seems to have known the tyranny of the Muhammadans in India.⁵⁷ Hence *this Purāṇa should be dated between 1203 and 1525 A. D.*

Though a late work, the printed Ādi-p. does not attach itself as a part to any Mahāpurāṇa, but claims to be the same as the earlier Ādi-p. which was spoken out by Sanatkumāra. It is needless to say that this claim is wholly untenable. Even the verse, in which this claim has been put forth by the printed editions, occurs in Shastri and Eggeling's Mss in a quite different form⁵⁸ without any mention of Sanatkumāra or of the earlier Ādi-p.

In the present Ādi-p. there is mention of the use of bracelets of conch-shell by women,⁵⁹ of a proverb in the line 'ādaḥ ca sakhi hṛtvā gām vinayo na virājate',⁶⁰ of the word 'gālī' used in the sense of 'reproach' on several occasions,⁶¹ of marking a child on the forehead with collyrium for saving it from the harmful effect of others' sight, and of tying a tiger-nail and a hymn of Rāma to a child's neck for saving it from the influence of evil spirits.⁶² These, as well as the fact that

57 Ādi-p. 14. 139-140—

asurā yavanāmśesu jātā lokopatāpinah/
anīti-nīratāḥ sarve samgrāhe ca prabuddhayah//
palāyamānās tesām hi prajāḥ syur apī pīditāḥ/
prāpur deśāntaram cāpi kvacin na sukhītābhavan//

58 Viz., idam purāṇam paramādibhūtam yato na kimcit param asti pūrvam/
śrīnāradenābhīhitam tu naimise śraddhālave bhārgava-śaunakāya//
(see Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1184)

59 Ādi-p. 26. 3 and 5

60 Ādi-p. 14. 14.

61 Ādi-p. 16 17; 25. 33 and 57

62 Cf. Ādi-p. 18. 130—

dr̥sti-dosa-nivārāya bhāle kajjalakam kuru/
kānthe vyāghra-nakham caiva rāma-nāmāṅkitam stavam//

some of the ideas and practices⁶³ of Cṛitanya of Navadvīpa and tenets of Cṛitanyaism are found mentioned in the present Ādi-p., tend to create the impression that this Purāṇa, like the chapters on Mathurā-māhātmya of the Varāha-p., was written in Bengal by a disciple of Cṛitanya; but we have already seen that the Haribhaktivilāsa and the Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta quote verses from a part claiming to belong to an 'Ādi-p.' which cannot be said definitely to be different from the present Ādi.

(II). Quite different from our present Ādi-p. was the earlier Ādya- or Ādi-p. which is mentioned in most of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas⁶⁴ and in which Sanatkumāra was the speaker. It seems that Sanatkumāra reported to a king, most probably to Yudhiṣṭhira,⁶⁵ what he had heard from Vyāsa.⁶⁶ That the earlier Ādya p. and Ādi-p. were identical, is shown by the following facts: (1) the Brhaddharma-p. (1. 25. 23) names the first Upapurāṇa as 'Ādi-p.',⁶⁷ (2) while enumerating the works used in writing his Dānasāgara and Adbhutasāgara Vallābhena names an 'Ādya Purāṇa',⁶⁸ but when this Purāṇa is referred to or drawn upon by him, it is mentioned as 'Ādi-p.'; (3) in a particular work the same verses are sometimes found ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in some Mss and to the 'Ādya-p.' in others;⁶⁹ (4) in some of the long citations from the 'Ādi-p.' in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Sanatkumāra appears as the speaker;⁷⁰ and (5) in their commentaries on Raghunandana's Māhātmya-tattva Kāśīcāmī Vācaspati and Rādhāramana

63 See Ādi-p. 8. 16-18 and 19-23; 10. 35-36; and so on.

64 For these lists see Chap. I.

65 In a verse of the 'Ādi-p.' quoted in Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara smṛti, I. ii. pp. 326-7 the speaker addresses the hearer as 'Bhārata', and in the verses ascribed to the same Purāṇa in Devanabhata's Smṛti candrikā, V, pp. 191-201 the hearer is addressed as 'rājendra', 'mahārāja', 'Kuru nandana' and 'Yudhiṣṭhira'. See also Śūlīpāṇi's Śrāddha-viveka p. 137 (ādi purāṇe—yeyam dīpānvitā rājan etc.).

66 In Sudhī-tanmudi, p. 40 and Hārāhī, p. 117, verses have been quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' with the words 'ādi-purāṇe vyāsa'.

67 ādāv ādipurāṇam syād ādityāś hyam dvitīyāś m.

68 See Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verse 13), and Adbhutasāgara, p. 2.

69 See, for instance, Aparānta's com. on the Yāj., p. 870.

70 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii. pp. 518 and 763-8.

Gosvāmi-bhaṭṭācārya take the 'Ādya Sanatkumāroktā' (Purāṇa), mentioned in a list of Upapurāṇas derived by Raghunandana from the 'Kūrma', to mean the 'Ādi-p.'⁷¹ This Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa was also called 'Sanatkumāra'⁷², 'Sānatkumāra'⁷³ and 'Sanatkumārīya'⁷⁴ and also perhaps 'Sanatkumāroktā'⁷⁵ or 'Sanatkumāra-prokta'⁷⁶ from the name of its chief interlocutor.

The earlier Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa occupied a very exalted position among the Upapurāṇas, so much so that it is assigned the first place in almost all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas as well as in that list of eighteen 'Purāṇas' which Alberūnī committed to writing from dictation.⁷⁷ Alberūnī's list (which consists partly of Mahā-purāṇas and partly of Upapurāṇas, viz., Ādi, Narasimha, Nanda, Āditya etc.) shows that by the end of the tenth century A. D. the Ādi-p. not only attained the position of being included in the list of

71 Malamāsa-tattva (ed Candīcarana Smṛtibhūṣana), p. 213—sanatkumāroktam ādipurāṇam (Kāśīrāma Vācaspati); ādyam ādi-purāṇam (Rādhāramana Gosvāmi-bhaṭṭācārya).

72 See Dbh I, 3. 13, and the 'Brahmavaivarta-p.' as quoted in the Viramirodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14, wherein the first (prathama, ādya) Upapurāṇa is called Sanatkumāra. It is to be noted that in the great majority of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas the first Upapurāṇa is the 'Ādya declared by Sanatkumāra'.

A 'Sanatkumāropapurāṇa' is drawn upon in the Śivārcana-dīpikā which is later than the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. (See Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 866, No. 2853)

73 See Gopāladāsa's Bhakti-ratnākara (Mitra, Notices, IX, p. 32).

74 See Nityācārapradīpa, I, p. 19, wherein Narasimha Vājapeyīn gives a list of eighteen Upapurāṇas on the basis of that contained in the Kūrma-p but names the first Upapurāṇa as 'Sanatkumārīya', and not as 'Ādya' like the Kūrma-p. See Chap I (p. 4) above.

75 See the lists of Upapurāṇas (as given in Chap. I), in most of which the first Upapurāṇa is mentioned with the words 'ādyam sanatkumāroktam'. See also foot-note 72 above.

76 A good number of verses on Ekādaśī is ascribed to a work called 'Sanatkumāra-prokta' in Gopālabhāṭṭa's Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 773 and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. 1, pp. 993-995, 998, 999 and 1001-2 and III 11, pp. 149, 160, 178, 181 and 184.

77 Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p. 130.

eighteen 'Purāṇas' but also became prominent enough to be named first of all. Hence the Ādi-p. must have preceded Alberūnī by a fairly long time. The Vāyu-p. (chap. 104) mentions an 'Ādika-p.' in a list of eighteen Purāṇas including the Brahma-p. (which also is sometimes called Ādi-p.), Gangādhara, in his commentary on the Dharma-samhitā, quotes from 'Padma-purāṇa, chapter 19' a metrical line which includes the Śaiva, Ādi-p. and Devī-bhāgavata among the Upapurāṇas;⁷⁸ and the present Saura-p. is said in its chap. 9 as well as in the Revā-khaṇḍa and the Revā-māhātmya to have formed the latter part of a complete work, of which the former part was declared by Sanatkumāra⁷⁹ and which was, according to the Revā-kh. and the Revā-māhātmya, also widely known under the title 'Sanatkumāra'.⁸⁰ These, as well as the first position of the Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa in all the comparatively early lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas, point to a still earlier origin of this Purāṇa. Hence this *Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa must be dated earlier than 700 A. D.* As in some of the verses quoted from the earlier Ādi-p. there is mention of the law-giver Manu, as well as of the names of rāsis and week-days,⁸¹ *this Purāṇa should not be placed before 500 A. D. It is probable that this work was written during the sixth century A. D.* This early origin of the Ādi-p. is supported by its non-Tantric character which is unmistakably indicated by the quotations made from it in the different Smṛti Nibandhas on *vrata*, *pūjā*, *dāna*, etc.

As not even a single Ms of the earlier Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa has been found up to the present time, we shall try to give here some idea of its Smṛti contents on the basis of the verses quoted from it in the commentaries and Nibandhas. An examination of these verses shows that this Purāṇa dealt, among other topics, with the following :—

78 'śaivam ādipurāṇam ca devībhāgavatam tathā'—Shastri, ASB Cat, V, p 289.

79-80 See under Saura-p in Vol III of the present work

81 See the verses ascribed to the 'Ādi-p' in Mādhuivācārya's com on the Parāśara-smṛti, II, 11, p. 321, Smṛti-tattva, I, p 844, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 287, Varsa-kaumudī, p 9, and so on. See also the verse ascribed to a work called 'Sanatkumāra-prokta' in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II 1, p. 998

Manu is mentioned in a verse quoted in Madana-pārijāta, p. 456.

Selection of countries which are habitable to the members of the four castes; good customs and usages; marriage; cremation; funeral ceremony; periods of impurity due to miscarriage, births and deaths; methods of purification; donations; Vratas; and omina and portenta.

In his *Smṛti-candrikā*, I, pp. 18-23 Devanabhaṭṭa quotes from the earlier *Ādi-p.* fifteen verses on the selection of a habitable tract of land. These verses show that this Purāṇa spoke of two kinds of countries,—dharma-deśa and adharmadeśa. The former was distinguished by the presence of antelopes, barley and Kuśa grass as well as of the four castes and orders of life and was to be resorted to by the wise, while the latter was to be shunned by them, because the twice-born could derive no benefit even by performing hundreds of sacrifices there; but the tract of land which lay along the banks of the Ganges was the most sacred of all. A person born in Āryāvarta, no matter whether he was a twice-born man or not, was not allowed to go beyond the rivers Narmadā (in the south), Sindhu (in the north and west) and Karatoyā (in the east).⁸² Any twice-born man, who crossed the boundary of Āryāvarta for reasons other than visiting the holy places, was to purify himself by observing the Cāndrāyana-vrata. The people of Kāñcī, Kośala, Saurāṣṭra and Devarāṣṭra, of the two countries known by the name Kaccha,⁸³ and of Sauvīra and Koṅkaṇa were very much condemned (*ninditā bhṛṣam*); and an Ārya was advised not to reside permanently in those tracts of land which were watered by the 'five rivers' and were known by the name Āraṭṭa. People, who went beyond the Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāśī⁸⁴ and to the western side of

- 82 āryāvarte samutpanno dvijo vā yadī vādvijah/
 narmadāṃ sindhu-pāram ca karatoyāṃ na langhayet//
 āryāvartam atikrāmya vinā tirtha-kriyāṃ dvijah/
 ājñāṃ caiva tathā pītror aindavena viśudhyati//
 (asccribed to 'Ādi-p.' in *Smṛti-candrikā*, I, p. 20).

The Karatoyā is a river in Northern Bengal and flows through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra.

83 These were most probably Marukaccha (modern Cutch) and Kauśīkaccha (the district of Purnea).

84 The text of the 'Ādi-p.', as given by Devanabhaṭṭa in his *Smṛti-candrikā*, I, p. 22, reads 'narmadā-sindhu-kāśīnāṃ pāram padmasya paścimam'. Though we know that 'Kāśī' was the name of the country, of which Benares was

Padma (? pāraṃ padmasya paścimam) and lived there for a period longer than that required for visiting the holy places, were sure to visit the hells after death. No marriage or funeral ceremony, nor any sacrifice was to be performed in Aṅga, Vāṅga, Kaliṅga, Vindhya and Mālavaka, in the countries lying on the south of the Narmadā, as well as in those on the north of the Sindhu, and in Pauṇdra, Surāṣṭra, Caidya, Kerala and Magadha. If a twice-born man chanced to go, out of his own accord and not for visiting holy places, to Saurāṣṭra, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Āvantya, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Kalinga or other bordering countries, he was excommunicated and was to be purified by sacraments. These and other impious countries (pāpa-deśāḥ) were inhabited by impious people; so, a twice-born man, who went to these countries, became equally impious.

Going to deal with good customs and usages which were to be followed by the people, this Purāṇa said that the people of the Kali age, being given to sinful acts, were not fit for practising that *dharma* (law and custom) which was meant for the people of the Kṛta age. Hence a twice-born man of the Kali age was to avoid the following:— Practice of celibacy (as a student) for a long period, carrying a kamaṇḍalu (as a forest-hermit or as a wandering mendicant), slaughter of cows (in sacrifices), performance of human and horse sacrifices, drinking of wine, sexual union with his own brother's wife, division of paternal property by allotting the largest share to the eldest son, and marriage with a girl belonging to the same *gotra* as that of himself or having sapinda relationship with his mother or married to another person before.⁸⁵ He was to take his meal after his dependants, who consisted

the capital, it seems that the original reading for '°kāśīnām' was '°kośīnām'. The river Kośī or Kauśīki formed the western boundary of Pauṇdravardhana. Cf. the verse 'himavat-kauśīkam vindhyam pāraṃ padmasya paścimam/ tīrthayātrām vinā gatvā punah samskāram arhati//' quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' in *Smṛti-candrikā*, I, p. 23.

85 For the relevant verses of the Ādi-p., see *Smṛti-candrikā*, I, pp. 29 and 221. The verse 'ūdhāyāḥ punar udvāham jyesthāmśam govadham tathā/ kalau pañca na kurvita bhrātr-jāyām kamandalum//' is ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in *Smṛti-candrikā*, I, p. 221 but to the 'Āditya-p.' in Mādhavācārya's com on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, I II, p. 91.

of the poor blood-relations on his father's and mother's side and of other helpless persons living under his care. In taking his meal he was to observe certain rules,⁸⁶ viz., he was not to take his meal by sitting or lying on his bed, or from a different seat, or in the morning, midday or evening, or with wet clothes on, or with the wet head, or without the sacred thread, or with his feet placed on a machine (*yantra*), or with his wife, or in a deserted house, a temple or a fire-sanctuary. A Brahmin might take his meal with his Brahmin wife on his way (to a distant place), but if he took his meal with his wife of a lower caste, he was degraded from his caste.⁸⁷ If, at a dinner party, any of the persons rinsed his mouth without leaving his seat, others were to leave their meals at once and wash their hands and mouths. A Brahmin was advised not to take his meal by taking his seat in the same line with other Brahmins or even with his own relatives, because he could not be sure that the latter were not guilty of *pātakas*.

As regards marriage,⁸⁸ it has already been said that the earlier Ādi-p. disallowed the remarriage of a girl, no matter whether she was a widow or not. A person, who had such a girl as his wife, was always considered impure. This Purāṇa was of opinion that the father, who allowed his daughter to be married according to the Gāndharva form or who married his daughter to a suitable bridegroom by accepting money from the latter, attained the region of the Gandharvas after death.⁸⁹

86 For the relevant verses of the Ādi-p see *Smṛti-cāndrikā*, II, pp. 617-618, and *Madana-pārijāta*, p. 333.

87 *brāhmanyā bhāryayā sārddham kvaciḍ bhuñjita vādhvani/
adho-varna-striyā sārddham bhuktvā patati tatksanāt//*

This verse is ascribed to the Ādi-p in *Smṛti-cāndrikā*, II, pp. 617-8, but to the Āditya-p. in *Mādhavācārya's* com. on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, I. 1, p. 425.

88 For the verses of the Ādi-p. on marriage see *Smṛti-cāndrikā*, I, p. 221, *Hāratalā*, p. 15, and *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 80.

89 *gāndharvena vivāhena yas tu kanyāṃ prayacchati/
gandharva-lokam vrajati gandharvaiḥ pūjyate narah//
śulkena dadyād yaḥ kanyāṃ varāya sadṛśāya ca/
kinnaraiḥ saha giyeta gāndharvam lokam eti ca//*

These two verses are ascribed to the Ādi-p. in *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 80, but to the Āditya-p. in *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 575.

A large number of verses on cremation of a dead body has been quoted in Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa's *Hāralatā*, Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Devaṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā* (Part V), Govindānanda's *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, and Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*. These verses state that when a twice-born man was on the point of death, he was taken out of the house in which he was lying. He was then bathed, dressed with a sacred piece of cloth, and laid down on the ground with his head turned towards the south. The place, at which he was thus laid, was already strewn over with Kuśa grass. When he breathed his last, his body was bathed, dressed with a piece of cloth, adorned with flowers, garlands etc., scented with perfumes, and furnished with a piece of bell-metal, gold, gem or coral placed in its mouth. It was then taken out of the house by its eastern, northern or western gate according as the deceased person was a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya, and carried by the deceased person's relatives or other twice-born people to the burning ground, which was generally situated on the bank of a river, or near water. But if there was no water or snow near the burning ground, the persons accompanying the dead body were to talk about water or call out 'Snow, snow'. While the dead body was carried to the burning ground, a great noise was produced by means of four kinds of musical instruments.⁹⁰ At the burning ground the dead body was laid down with care, bathed, covered with a piece of cloth, and placed on a funeral pile by the deceased person's blood-relations on his father's side or by his kinsmen or other relatives, with its feet turned towards the south.⁹¹ In the case of a male, the dead body was placed on the funeral pile with its face turned downwards, but in the case of a female, it was placed on its back. It was then set on fire by the

90 śmaśāna-bhūmim netavyah

 caturvidhena vādyena kuryuh kolāhalam mahat//

Hāralatā, p. 125 and *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, p. 110

91 This method of placing a dead body on the funeral pile was followed by Brahmins other than the followers of the *Sāma-veda*

The *Sāma-vedī* Brahmins placed the dead body with its head turned towards the south

proper person. When the dead body was mostly consumed by fire and only a small portion of it remained unburnt, the person, who set fire to it, took in his hand seven pieces of fuel of prescribed lengths, went seven times round the fire by keeping it to his right, and threw those pieces of fuel, one by one, into the fire after each complete circumambulation. He, as well as each of his companions, then gave with an axe seven strokes on the burning fuel by pronouncing the *mantra* 'kravyādāya namas tubhyaṃ etc.' After that, all of them went to the adjoining river without looking to the funeral pyre, took their bath there, and offered libations of water to the departed soul by facing the south. They then returned to the village and waited outside the house until the person who set fire to the dead body went to a neighbouring pool with a club in his hand,⁹² took his bath, brought water in an earthen pot, cooked rice with it in the north-eastern side of the house, and offered balls of rice in the prescribed manner to the departed soul at the gate of the house. The person, who thus offered pīṇḍas (balls of rice) to the deceased person on the first day of his death, was to offer these in the same way during the remaining nine days also.

If an āhitāgni twice-born man went abroad after leaving his wife in charge of his fire and died there, his body was preserved until it was brought home and cremated with his own fire. If his body was

92 The text of the Ādi-p. is as follows:

mṛṇmayam bhāṇḍam ādāya navam snātaḥ susaṃyataḥ/

lagudam sarva-dosaghnām grhītvā toyam ānayet//

(See Hāralatā, p. 164, Śuddhi-kaumudī, p. 128, and Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 321).

But Aniruddhabhaṭṭa explains the second line thus:

lagudam grhīveti agragāmi-puruṣāntara-hastena lagudam

grhītvetyarthah/ 'toyārtham tu tato gacched grhītvā

puruṣam puraḥ/ grhīta-lagudam yatnāt sarva-duṣṭa-

nivāraṇam//' iti govindarāja-likhita-vṛddhapraceto-

vacanāt/ tena lagudā-hastam puruṣam agre kṛtvā pīṇḍā-

rtham mṛṇmaya-bhāṇḍena jalam ānetavyam/ (Hāralatā, p. 166).

So, according to Aniruddhabhaṭṭa the club was borne not by the person who was to fetch water from a neighbouring pool for offering pīṇḍas to the departed soul but by another member of the party who was to lead the former to the pool.

not available, his bones were brought home, soaked with ghee, covered with wool, and burnt in the above-mentioned manner along with his implements of sacrifice. In the absence of bones, an effigy was made with leaves of Śara (reed) and Palāśa, covered with an antelope-skin, tied with a thread of wool, besmeared with finely powdered barley mixed with water, and burnt. If a person, whose effigy was thus burnt by his relatives by taking him to be dead, returned home, he was to kindle the sacred fire afresh and a sacrifice was to be performed for giving him a long life. If a piece of bone was received after his effigy had been burnt, it was burnt with the fire produced by means of those half-burnt pieces of fuel which remained after the burning of the effigy. If no such fuel was available, the piece of bone was thrown into deep water. If, of a twice-born couple who maintained the sacred fire, one died before the other, the body of the former was burnt with the three kinds of fire, viz., Śrauta, Smārta and Laukika, while that of the latter was cremated with the Laukika fire only.⁹³

The bones of a dead person were collected from the burning ground generally on the fourth, fifth or sixth day according as this person was a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya. According to local customs, his bones could be collected earlier by a day. But if the period of impurity consisted only of three days, the bones could be collected on the second day, and in case of impurity ending immediately (*sadyah-śauca*), the collection could be made just after the

93 āhitāgnyoś ca dampatyor yas tvādaṁ mriyate bhuvi/
 tasya dehaḥ sapindaś ca dagdhavyas tribhir agnibhiḥ/
 paścān mrtasya dehas tu dagdhavyo laukikāgninā //

(Ādi-p. quoted in Hārālatā, p. 142)

These lines have been explained by Aniruddhabhatta as follows:

If, of a twice-born couple who maintained the sacred fire, the husband died before his wife, his body was cremated with the three kinds of fire, viz., Śrauta, Smārta and Laukika, and the wife, who died after her husband, was burnt with the Laukika fire only. But if the wife died before her husband, she was burnt with the three kinds of fire, and the husband was to kindle the sacred fire afresh. If he did so, he was burnt with the three kinds of fire after his death. But if he died before kindling the sacred fire afresh, his body was cremated with the Laukika fire only. (See Hārālatā, pp. 143-4)

burning of the dead body. During this rite of collection of bones (asthi-saṃcayana) Śaṃkara and the carnivorous deities residing in the burning ground were worshipped in the prescribed manner⁹⁴ with the offer of various kinds of food, drinks, fruits, scents, flowers etc. The bones of the head were then taken by means of pieces of branches of a sacrificial tree, sprinkled with the five products of a cow (pañca-gavya), covered with a piece of silk-cloth, placed in an earthen vessel furnished with a lid, and buried at a sacred place in a forest or at the root of a tree. In opportune times these bones were taken out, placed in a lump of earth together with a piece of gold as well as with honey, ghee and sesamum, and thrown into the Ganges by the deceased person's descendants or by his relations on his father's or mother's side.

In case of death of a child aged less than two years, the dead body was adorned by its relatives with ornaments, flowers, scents, garlands etc., placed in an earthen pot, and buried underground in a sacred place outside the village.

In the case of a dying Sūdra, removal from the house was not compulsory even when he was breathing his last. But when, after his death, the dead body was taken out, all the earthen wares of the house in which he died were thrown away. The dead body of a Sūdra was to be removed to the burning ground through the southern gate of the house. As Sūdras had no Śrauta fire to maintain, the method of cremation was necessarily simpler in their case. No Brahmin was allowed to burn a Sūdra, even if the latter was his friend, and if he did so through mistake, he was to purify himself by taking his bath, touching fire, drinking ghee, and observing fast for three consecutive nights. The rite of collection of bones of a Sūdra was to be performed after the tenth day. It might also be performed on the tenth day, if local customs demanded so.

Regarding the methods of disposing of the dead body as prevailing among the Magas and Daradas of those days, there are a few lines quoted in Aniruddhabhaṭṭa's Hāralatā. These lines inform us that the Magas buried their corpses underground. The Daradas, on the

94 For the method of worship see the verses of the Ādi-p. quoted in Hāralatā, pp. 186ff. and Śuddhi-kaumudī, pp. 145-6.

other hand, kept their dead bodies suspended from the branches of such trees as stood far away from human habitations and were leafy enough to protect these dead bodies from rain. After the expiry of a complete year these dried up corpses were brought down from those trees, bathed with the waters of the Ganges, and burnt.⁹⁵

A large number of verses of the earlier Ādi-p. is found quoted in the Nibandhas in connection with the determination of the period of impurity to be observed by the deceased person's relatives and others. The periods of impurity were determined by various factors such as the nature of relation of the persons with the deceased, their occupation, their caste, their motive in cremating a dead body, the caste, age, sex or character of the deceased person, the nature of death, the nature of help the person to be deemed impure rendered in cremating the dead body, acceptance of remuneration for carrying the dead body or cremating it, and so on. Even if a Brahmin, who was not a relative of a deceased Brahmin, lamented with the latter's relatives before the rite of collection of bones had been performed, he was to take his bath and sip water after the performance of the rite; if he did so for a Ksatriya or a Vaiśya, he was to bathe with all his garments on and became pure on the second day; but by lamenting for a Śūdra, he was to bathe with his clothes on and remain impure for three days. Lamentation for a deceased person after the collection of his bones caused impurity to a Brahmin for a day and a night. In the case of the members of other castes, lamentation necessitated bath with all the garments on, if this lamentation was made before the collection of bones, but if it was made after the collection, they required simple bath for attaining purity.⁹⁶

Impurity was also caused to certain relatives by births and miscarriage, and its period varied under different conditions. A man, who

95 See Hāralatā, p. 126—

magā bhūmau nikhanyante daradās ca mrtān sadā /
 āsadya vrkse gacchanti luptrakās ca svabāndhavam //
 ghana-cchāye sugupte tu tiro varsāni varsati /
 tatah samvatsare pūrṇe sarva-sambhāra-sambhrtāh //
 śuskam tam jāhnavi-toye prakṣipyā pradahanti ca //

96 For the relevant verses of the Ādi-p. see Hāralatā, p. 91 and pp. 63-64.

had as his wife a woman previously married to another person, was always deemed impure.⁹⁷

The numerous verses quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' in the Smṛti Nibandhas in connection with śrāddha show that this Purāṇa dealt elaborately with the various points connected with this topic, viz., persons eligible for performing it under different circumstances, the method of its performance, the method of offering piṇḍas, the number of Brahmins to be fed on this occasion, the proper day for performing the śrāddha ceremony of those who committed suicide by starting on a long journey, or fasting, or hanging, or by means of a weapon, fire or poison, enumeration of persons who deserved no śrāddha ceremony (viz., those who were killed by others while abducting the latter's wives or were killed in a fight with the Cāṇḍālas or such other people, or administered poison, or set fire to others' houses, or were Pāṣaṇḍas, or committed suicide out of anger, and so on), the method of performing the śrāddha ceremony at Gayā, and similar other matters. A Brahmin was forbidden to perform the śrāddha ceremony of persons of lower castes, even if the latter were his own sons. If he did so out of passion, greed, fear or affection, he was degraded to the caste of that person whose śrāddha ceremony he performed. Sons, born of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Sūdra mothers, were advised to perform the śrāddha ceremony of their deceased Brahmin father. In case of death of these sons, their own mothers were to perform their śrāddha ceremony, and *vice versa*.

Though the verses quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' in connection with donations are not many,⁹⁸ this Purāṇa was certainly not very poor in this topic. In his Dānasāgara Vallālasena says that various kinds of donations were dealt with in the Ādi-p. according to their subdivisions (or, in accordance with the divisions of the year in which these were to be

97 anyapūrvā yasya gehe bhāryā syāt tasya nityaśah/
aśaucam sarva-kāryesu dehe bhavati sarvadā/
dānam pratigrahaḥ snānam sarvam tasya bhaved vrthā//

(see Hāratalā, p. 15)

98 For the verses on donations see Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 297 (on Kapilā-dāna), Dānasāgara, pp 276 and 280-286, Dāna-kaumudī, p. 40 (on bhūmi-dāna), and so on.

made?), and that in his *Dānasāgara* he quoted from this *Putāṇa* only a few verses on donations because he fully utilised its sections on *dāna* in his *Ācārasāgara*.⁹⁹

The earlier *Ādi-p.* contained chapters on *Vratas* and festivals also. In *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 47 two verses on *Kṛṣṇa-jaṇmāṣṭamī* are quoted from the earlier *Ādi-p.* In his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II. 11, p. 518 *Hemādri* quotes nine metrical lines on *Yugādi-vidhi* (which required the gift of barley and the performance of *boma* and *Viṣṇu*-worship with it), and on pp. 763-8 he quotes 30 verses on *pradīpa-vidhi*. According to these last-mentioned verses the *pradīpa-vidhi* was observed for one month from *Āśvina-purnamāsī* to *Kārttika-purnamāsī*. At the end of this period, the *Dīpa-mahotsava* was performed for three days, during which lamps were lighted in the evening in the houses of the poor as well as in other places, viz., burning grounds, temples, banks of rivers, roads, *cātyas* etc. Gifts of gold, silver, land, cows, paddy, fruits, beds etc. were also made to Brahmins on this occasion.

For the large number of verses on *tīrthas* (especially *Gayā* and *Vṛddha-tīrtha*) see *Smṛti-candrikā*, V, pp. 194-201. *Mādhavācārya's* com. on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, I. 11, pp. 307-8, and *Aparārka's* com. on the *Yāj.*, pp. 878-9. The chapters on *Gayā* of the earlier *Ādi-p.* seem to have formed the basis of chaps. 105-112 (on *Gayā-māhātmya*) of the present *Vāyu-p.* in which *Sanatkumāra* speaks to *Nārada* on *Gayā* and which mentions an *Ādika-p.* in chap. 104 and has retained a few verses from the former.¹⁰⁰

99 *Dānasāgara*, p. 6 (verse 56)—

śrutāny ādipurāṇe tu dānāny anuvibhāgatah/
ācārasāgaroktatvān na kīrtiyante'tra kṛtsnaśah //

(For 'anuvibhāgatah' the India Office Ms reads 'abda-vibhāgatah')

See also p. 3 (verses 12-14)—

... .. tathā kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoh //
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca //
ādyam purāṇam śāmbam ca kālīkāhivayam eva ca/
nāndam āditya samjñam ca nārasimham tathaiiva ca //

100 For instance, *Vāyu-p.*, chap. 110, verses 2-3 and chap. 111, verse 1 are the same as the verses ascribed to the *Ādi-p.* in *Smṛti candrikā*, V, p. 194.

Ten verses on omens and portents have been ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Adbhutasāgara, pp. 546, 548, 550 and 552-6. Of these, one (in Adbhutasāgara, p. 546) is ascribed to the Āditya-p. in many of the Mss of the Adbhutasāgara. The remaining nine verses also might have been taken from the Āditya-p. At least the metrical similarity between these verses and those quoted from the Āditya-p. in the Adbhuta-sāgara tends to create such an impression.

It should be mentioned here that a good number of verses of the Ādi-p. has been wrongly ascribed to the Āditya-p., or *vice versa*. For instance, in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, ii, pp. 348-9 Hemādri ascribes to the 'Āditya-p.' an extract of 29 lines dealing with Sukha-supti-vrata¹⁰¹ and Dyūta-pratipad and having Sanatkumāra as the speaker; the verse 'ṣaṇmāsābhyantaram yāvat' is ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Suddhi-kaumudī, p. 43 and Kullūkabhaṭṭa's com. on Manu-Smṛti V. 66, but to the Āditya-p. in Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 260, the verse 'vivāha-yajñayor madhye' is ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Suddhi-kaumudī, p. 67 and Hāratalā, pp. 105-6, but to the Āditya-p. in Kālasāra, p. 272; and so on. On the other hand, the verse 'madhūkam rāma-ṭham caiva' is ascribed to the Āditya-p. in Aparāṅka's com., p. 554, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 205, Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I, ii, p. 370, Śrāddha-kaumudī, p. 18, and Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 226, but to the Ādi-p. in Madana-pārijāta, p. 552 and Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I, ii, p. 373; the verse 'api dātṛ-grahitoś ca' is ascribed to the Āditya-p. in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 105 and Kālasāra, pp. 255 and 271 but to the Ādi-p. in Suddhi-

101 The component parts of this Vrata, which was to be observed on the Kārttikī Amāvāsyā, were the following:—Fast at day-time (in case the worshipper was not a child or an invalid); worship of Lakṣmī in the evening, illumination at temples, crossings of roads, burning grounds, pastures, etc., decoration of market-places with light, clothes, flowers, etc., feeding of Brahmīns and the poor; dining with friends and relatives after wearing new clothes and ornaments, and so on. On the Kārttikī Śukla-pratipad the worshipper was to play at dice in the morning, dine with friends at noon, hear songs and musical concerts after wearing ornaments and using perfumes, decorate the bedroom with light, garlands etc., pass the night with beloved women, and in the morning honour Brahmīns, friends and relatives with new clothes.

kaumudī, p. 68, and so on. Even in the same work a particular verse is ascribed to the Ādi-p. in some Mss and to the Āditya-p. in others ¹⁰²

The earlier Ādi-p. must have been a Vaiṣnava work. In a verse ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 512, all-pervading Viṣṇu is said to have made a rule, according to which the gods did not reside in their respective images under certain conditions, ¹⁰³ Aparārka and Govindānanda quote from the Ādi-p. a verse which states that the donor of land of the measurement of even a *go-carma* becomes free from all his sins and attains the region of Viṣṇu. ¹⁰⁴ Viṣṇu is mentioned on many occasions ¹⁰⁵ and Viṣṇu-worship is prescribed in many of the quoted verses; ¹⁰⁶ Śaṅkara is spoken of in a verse as a deity residing in the burning ground; ¹⁰⁷ and so on.

3. THE KALKI-PURĀṆA ¹⁰⁸

This is one of the late Upapurāṇas. It claims to be a continuation of the Bhāgavata-p. and to deal with future

¹⁰² See Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I ii, p. 23, Kālanir-naya, p. 215, Kālasāra, pp. 361 and 541, Adbhutasāgara, p. 546, and Aparārka's com., p. 1225

¹⁰³ khandite sphutite dagdhe bhraste sthāna-vivarjite /
yāgabine paśu-sprste patite dusta-bhūmisu //
anya-mantrārcite caiva patita-sparśa-dūṣite /
daśasv etesu no cakruḥ samnidhānam divaukasah //
iti sarva-gato viṣṇuḥ paribhāsām cakāra ha /

¹⁰⁴ See Aparārka's com., p. 1225, and Dāna-kaumudī, p. 40.

¹⁰⁵ See Aparārka's com., p. 879 (yathā viṣṇur viśokāya tathā tīrtham anāmayam) and p. 879 (samkarsanam vapur viṣṇoś candāgni-bhavadāhakam).

¹⁰⁶ See Dānasāgara, p. 619 (ghṛtena śapītam viṣṇum śaktyā sampūjayet tataḥ), and Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II ii, p. 518 (. . . yavair viṣṇum samarcayet).

¹⁰⁷ Hāralatā, p. 186.

¹⁰⁸ Besides Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition which we have used in the following pages, there are many more editions, two of which are the following .—

(1) Jaganmohana Tarkālamkāra's edition published by Kedar Nath Banerjee, Calcutta 1873; and

(2) Pañcānana Tarkaratna's edition published with a Bengali translation by the Vangavāsi Press, Calcutta, 1315 B. S.

events.¹⁰⁹ As a matter of fact, it describes the deeds of Viṣṇu to be performed at the close of the Kali-yuga, when he will be born as Kalki, son of Viṣṇuyaśas and Sumatī of Śaṁbhalagrāma. It is divided into three Amśas or parts, of which the first two consist of seven chapters each and the third of twenty-one chapters. The contents of these chapters are as follows.

Amśa I.

Chap. 1.—Salutation to Vighneśa, who is adored first of all in the Vedic, Tantric and other scriptures. Invocation of Kalki, who is Hari himself.

Śaunaka and others of Naimiṣāranya requested Sūta to speak on the origin and exploits of Kali. Consequently, Sūta referred to the tradition of inheritance of the Bhāgavata-dharma and narrated how he had heard that portion of the topics of the Bhāgavata-p. which Śuka had spoken out to Mārkaṇḍeya and others after the death of king Viṣṇurāta (Parīkṣit) and which was concerned with future events. He then spoke on the following topics:—

Brahmā's creation of Adharma from his back. Adharma's descendants. Birth of Kali in the family of Adharma. Description of Kali. Kali's descendants. Degradation of people during the reign of Kali. Gods' approach with the Earth to Brahmā for redress.

Chap. 2.—Brahmā's approach to Viṣṇu, and the latter's assurance that he would manifest himself in the house of Viṣṇuyaśas at Śaṁbhala

For Mss of this work see

(1) Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1188-89, No. 3338 (complete; written in Bengali script; not divided into Amśas, all its chapters being numbered continuously).

(2) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp 8-9, No. 11 (complete, written in Bengali script; not divided into Amśas; chapters numbered continuously)

(3) Dacca University Mss Nos. 234 (complete, written in Bengali script) and 4090 (complete; written in Bengali script, dated Śaka 1726).

109 See the chapter-colophons, which run as follows.—iti śrī-kalki-purāṇe anubhāgavate bhavisyāc..... In chap. 1 there are several indications of its claim to belong to the Bhāgavata-p. and to deal with future events.

and that Lakṣmī would be born as Padmā, daughter of king Brhadratha of Ceylon. Viṣṇu's request to the gods to be born on earth.

Viṣṇu's birth and assumption of a two-handed form. Naming of new-born Viṣṇu as Kalki. Kalki's determination to free the earth from the influence of Kali.

Chap. 3.—Kalki's study of the Vedas and the various sciences (including Dhanurveda) with Bhārgava Rāma. His worship and eulogy of Bilvodaśvara-śiva, with the result that he received a horse, a Śuka bird and a sword from the latter. His return to Śaṃbhala-grāma, establishment of Varnāśrama-dharma, and meeting with Viśākhayūpa, king of Māhiṣmatī.

Chap. 4.—Kalki's speech to king Viśākhayūpa on the origin of the universe from himself as well as on the characteristics of Brahmīns (who should practise Varnāśrama-dharma and have Tilaka marks).

Return of the Śuka bird from Śaṃbhala with the information that Padmāvatī, daughter of king Brhadratha, received a boon from Śiva that she would have Nārāyaṇa as her husband.

Chap. 5.—The Śuka's further statement that the kings who attended the 'svayaṃvara-sabhā' arranged by Brhadratha, turned females as soon as they looked amorously at Padmāvatī, and became her attendants.

Chap. 6.—The Śuka's return to Śaṃbhala at the request of Kalki and meeting with Padmāvatī, who told the bird everything about her ambition.

Chap. 7.—Padmāvatī's description of the method of worshipping Viṣṇu with the *mantra* 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya'. Method of Viṣṇu-dhyāna.

Amśa II.

Chaps. 1-3.—Padmāvatī's description of the method of Viṣṇu-worship—continued.

The Śuka's return to Kalki, who then met Padmāvatī in Śaṃbhala and married her.

The transformed kings' regaining of malehood by bathing in the river Revā. Their eulogy of Viṣṇu by mentioning the names of his ten incarnations including the Buddha.

Chaps. 4-5.—Kalki's instructions to the kings on Varnāśrama-dharma.

Appearance of sage Ananta before the kings at Kalki's wish. Ananta's description of his own experience of Viṣṇu-māyā at Putuṣottama; and his praise of Kalki as being capable of giving 'nirvāṇa'.

Chap. 6.—Kalki's return to Śambhala with Padmāvatī and living in a house built for him by Viśvakarman. Birth of two sons, named Jaya and Vijaya, to Kalki. Kalki's going to the city of Kīkaṭa with a huge army for chastising the Buddha; and his meeting with the 'Jina' who came out of the city with a large number of his followers.

Chap. 7.—Kalki's fight with the Bauddhas led by the 'Jina'. The Jina's defeat and death in the fight. The Bauddhas' futile attempt to defeat Kalki with the help of the Mlecchas.

Amśa III.

Chap. 1.—Kalki's victory over the Bauddhas and the Mlecchas, and his instructions on *bhakti-yoga*, *karma-yoga* and *jñāna-yoga* to the latter's wives, who were up in arms against him.

Chap. 2.—Kalki's return from Kīkaṭa and meeting with the Bālakhilya sages at Cakra-tīrtha. His going to the Himālaya at the request of these sages and killing of the demoness Kuthodarī and her son Vikañja.

Chap. 3.—Kalki's meeting, on the Himālaya, with kings Maru and Devāpi of the Solar and the Lunar race respectively. Maru's mention of the names of the descendants of Ikṣvāku down to Rāma.

Story of the birth and deeds of Rāma, son of Daśaratha.

Chap. 4.—Names of Rāma's descendants including Maru, who was also called Budha and Sumitra and who was waiting at Kalāpa-grāma for Viṣṇu's incarnation at the close of the Kali age.

Devāpi's mention of the names of the kings of the Lunar race from Budha downwards. Kalki's determination to place Maru and Devāpi on the thrones of Ayodhyā and Hastināpura respectively after killing the Mlecchas and the Pukkasas of those places. His advice to these two kings to marry the daughters of Viśākhayūpa and Rucirāśva respectively and help him in re-establishing the Kṛta-yuga. His giving of two divine chariots to Maru and Devāpi.

Chap. 5.—Kṛta-yuga's arrival in the form of a '*maskarin*'. His account of the fourteen Manvantaras. Kalki's decision to fight with Kali in the city of Viśasana.

Chaps. 6-7.—Kalki's start with Maru, Devāpi and others in his train, and meeting with Dharma, who was driven out of Viśasana by Kali. His decisive war against Kali and his allies, viz., Khaśas, Kāmbojas, Savaras, Varvaras, Cīnas, Pulindas, Colas, Niṣādas and others. Kali's defeat and escape to another *varṣa*. Kalki's killing of Koka and Vikoka.

Chaps. 8-13.—Kalki's arrival at Bhallāta-nagara which was ruled by a Vaiṣṇava king named Śaśidhvaja. Śaśidhvaja's conversation with his wife Suśāntā, in which he justified his decision for war by referring to the *dvaitādvaita* system of philosophy. Śaśidhvaja's fight with Kalki; and his capturing the latter in an unconscious state to his own house. Suśāntā's eulogy of Kalki. Śaśidhvaja's giving his daughter Ramā in marriage to Kalki. Story of Śaśidhvaja and his wife's previous birth as vultures. Method of Viṣṇu-worship. Discourses on Viṣṇu-bhakti. Śaśidhvaja's narration of the story of Dvivida, who attained liberation by being killed by Balārāma. Śaśidhvaja's mention of some exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

Chaps. 14-15.—Other deeds of Kalki, viz., his liberating the poison-girl at Kāñcanapurī, his installing of his followers on the thrones of Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Vāranāvata, Pundra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kikata etc., his return to Śambhala and introduction of the Kṛta-yuga, and his liberating Śaśidhvaja who eulogised Māyā at Kokāmukha.

Chap. 16.—Performance of Rājasūya and other sacrifices by Viṣṇuśaśas. Nārada's instructions to Viṣṇuśaśas on the nature of Māyā and the glory of Kalki. Arrival of Paraśurāma at Śambhala.

Chap. 17.—Description of the method of performing the Rukminī-vrata, which Rāma performed for a son at Paraśurāma's advice. Praise of this Vrata by means of the story of Sarmisthā and Devayānī.

Chaps. 18-19.—Kalki's amorous sports with his wives. Brahmā and others' arrival at Śambhala, and Kalki's passing to heaven.

Chaps. 20-21.—Eulogy of Gaṅgā. Contents of the Kalki-p., which is said to consist of six thousand and one hundred verses, praise of studying this work. Conclusion.

The Kalki-p., as its contents show, is purely a Vaiṣṇava work, its philosophic standpoint being 'dvaitādvaita'. It knows Viṣṇu's ten incarnations including Balabhadra and the Buddha, and seems to regard Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat himself. It mentions the Tulasī plant once and the 'Tantras' on several occasions. By its statement that Kalki defeated the Buddha and his followers and carried on *dig-vijaya* for the establishment of *dharma*, this work seems to betray its knowledge of Śaṅkarācārya's activities. That it is a late work is shown definitely by the fact that it is not referred to or drawn upon by any of the numerous Smṛti-writers known to us. It is, however, not to be dated later than the beginning of the eighteenth century A. D. One of its Mss was copied in Śaka 1726.

The Kalki-p. must have been written in Bengal. Almost all its Mss, hitherto discovered, are written in Bengali script; and in Aṁśa I, chap. 2 (verses 38 and 41) it speaks of 'ten sacraments' (*daśa saṁskārāḥ*) for Brahmins.

4. THE PURUṢOTTAMA-PURĀṆA

This Upapurāṇa has not yet been printed, but a Ms of a work entitled Puruṣottama-p. has been mentioned in Buhler's Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Private Libraries of Gujarāt, Kāṭhiāwād, Kachchh, Sindh and Khandeś (2. 14). We do not know of any other Ms of this Upapurāṇa, nor does its title occur in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas known to us.

Of the numerous commentaries, Nibandhas and various other works examined by us in this connection it is only the Kālasāra of Gadādhara which ascribes a verse to the 'Puruṣottama-p.'¹¹⁰ This quoted verse and the title of its source show that the 'Puruṣottama-p.', as known to Gadādhara, was a Vaiṣṇava work dealing with the glori-

¹¹⁰ See Kālasāra, p 184—

*puruṣottama-purāṇe—

jayasva kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇeti subhadreti sakṛn narāḥ/
vadanti mārjane kāle yānti brahma-padaṁ mama//

fication of Puruṣottama-kṣetra (Purī) as well as with the method and praise of the worship of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā there. As this quoted verse, in which Kṛṣṇa himself seems to be the speaker, is found neither in the chapters on Puruṣottama-kṣetra of the present Brahma-p. nor in the Puruṣottama-māhātmya¹¹¹ of the Viṣṇu-khanda of the Skanda-p., the 'Puruṣottama-p.' drawn upon by Gadādhara must have been a distinct work. Gadādhara's quotation from this work shows that it was written not later than 1200 A.D.

As the above-mentioned Ms of the Puruṣottama-p., lying far beyond our reach, could not be examined, it is not possible for us to say whether or how far this Upapurāna is the same as that used by Gadādhara in his Kālasāra.

5. THE BRĤHANNĀRADIYA-PURĀNA

This work, which was printed on more occasions than one,¹¹² can hardly claim to have had a very early origin. Yet it attained consider-

111 In Puruṣottama-māhātmya, chap 31, there is a verse
(No. 86—jayaśva rāma kṛṣṇeṭi jaya bhadrēṭi yo vadet/

jaya kṛṣṇa jagannātha nāthēṭi uccārayan mudā/
snāna-kāle sa vai muktīm prayāṭi dvija-sattamāh//)

which resembles much the verse of the Puruṣottama-p mentioned above. But in this verse of the Puruṣottama-māhātmya it is Jaiminī, and not Kṛṣṇa, who is the speaker

112 So far as I know, this work was published twice by the Vāṅgavāsi Press, Calcutta (the second edition having appeared in 1316 B.S) and once by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1891 A.D

Both these editions consist of 38 chapters and have generally the same text, although there are occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters

The Vāṅga. ed. is printed in Bengali characters. Yet, to avoid confusion in references, I have used it in the present work, because in my Purāṇic Records also I used it (in discussing its date and relation with the present Nāradya-p.) in preference to the ASB ed., in which the verses have not in all cases been properly numbered. For instance, verses 80-85 of chap 13 have been numbered in this edition simply as '80/81' without any demarcation, and verses 26-47 of chap. 24 have been wrongly numbered as 16-37. However, in using the Vāṅga ed. I have always taken particular care to compare its readings with those of the

able popularity as an interesting handbook of religious and ethical value, and this is evident from the discovery of its Mss¹¹³ (written in different characters) from different parts of India.

Being meant exclusively for the Vaiṣṇavas it begins with a salutation, in two verses, to Upendra (Kṛṣṇa) of Vṛndāvana, who is said to be the original deity (ādi-deva) consisting of pure consciousness and

ASB ed. and to see that no deduction is made from any verse, the text of which is not supported by both these editions

113 For these Mss see especially

(1) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp 9-11, Nos. 47-49 (all complete in 38 chaps), of which No 48 is written in Devanāgarī and No. 49 in Bengali script.

(2) Weber, Berlin Cat of 1853, pp 129-130, No 452 (consisting of 39 chaps.).

(3) Mitra, Bikaner Cat., p. 225, No 479 (written in Nāgara)

(4) Shastri, Nepal Cat., p. 24 (No 845 ँ, which ends in chap. 30 and is written in Maithilā script), p. 25 (No. 910 ऋ, which is written in Maithilā script and dated La.-Sam. 429), and p. 29 (No 1001 ँ, which also is written in Maithilā script and is dated La -Sam. 425).

(5) A Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss Acquired for and Deposited in the Government Sanskrit College Library, Sarasvatī Bhavana, Benares, 1918-30 (Prepared under the Supervision of Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinath Kaviraj), Vol. I, p 16 (written in Bengali script)

(6) Dacca University Mss Nos. 548 (incomplete), 605B (incomplete), 625 (complete), 937 (complete; dated Śaka 1648), 1013 (complete, dated Śaka 1646); 1317 (incomplete), 1667 (complete; dated Śaka 1578), 1704 (complete; dated Śaka 1689), 2670 (complete, dated Śaka 1614), 2712 (complete; dated Śaka 1618), 3836 (complete), 4091 (complete; dated Śaka 1725), 4234 (ending in chap. 37, dated Śaka 1609), 4329 (complete)

All these Mss are written in Bengali script, and in the complete ones the work consists of 38 chapters.

(7) Eggeling, Ind. Off Cat., VI, pp. 1208-9, Nos. 3368-73 (all complete in 38 chapters and written in Devanāgarī). Of these, Nos 3368, 3369 and 3370 are dated 1535, 1747 and 1769 A. D respectively.

(8) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II, pp. 914-5, Nos 6612-13 (both being complete in 38 chapters). Of these two Mss, the former was copied in Bengali script in 1775 A.D. and the latter in Grantha characters in 1866-67 A D.

(9) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. i, pp. 1453-54, No. 2139 (breaking off in the 38th chapter; written in Telugu), and p. 1454, No. 2140 (complete in 38 chapters, written in Grantha characters).

also appearing in parts as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa and others for the sake of creation. It then introduces its topics by narrating the story of Śaunaka as follows:

Śaunaka and many other sages practised austerities and worshipped Viṣṇu with great devotion in the Naimiṣa forest, some of them trying to please the god by austere practices, some by following the path of knowledge (jñāna), and some by cultivating the highest type of Bhakti. Once these and innumerable other sages met in a conference to find out the best means of attaining the four ends of life, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. Finding that the sages were about to put to him questions as to what the sacred places and the Tīrthas were, how people could attain final liberation and unswerving devotion to Hari, and in what way the three kinds of actions bore fruit, Śaunaka referred them to Sūta, the best Paurāṇika, who was engaged in worshipping Janārdana by various sacrifices at Siddhāśrama. Śaunaka said that Sūta, son of Lomahaṛṣaṇa, was a pupil of Vyāsa and, being instructed by the latter in all the Śāstras, used to speak out in the Purāṇas the essence of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas and other works and that with the decrease of Dharma in the different Yugas Madhusūdana appeared as Vyāsa and divided the Veda. Being thus informed of Sūta's learning and wisdom, the sages thanked Śaunaka and went to Siddhāśrama where Sūta had undertaken to perform the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice for the pleasure of Nārāyaṇa. After Sūta had taken his holy bath at the conclusion of the sacrifice, the sages requested him to speak to them on the source and nature of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe, the method of pleasing Viṣṇu by worship, the practice of Varṇāśrama-dharma, the right way of receiving guests, the means of attaining final liberation, and the nature of Bhakti and its attainments. Consequently, Sūta proposed to speak out 'the extensive (br̥hat) Purāṇa named Nāradiya' (or, 'the Br̥hannārada Purāṇa')¹¹⁴ in which Nārada spoke to Sanatkumāra and which contained topics on Nārāyaṇa and was imbued with the Vedic ideas. He praised this work

¹¹⁴ Bnār. 1. 36 (purāṇam nāradiyākhyam br̥had vedārtha-sammitam), and 1. 66 (... br̥hannārada-nāmadheyam param purāṇam, ...). In the ASB ed. the latter verse reads 'idaṁ nārada-nāmadheyam' (for 'br̥hannārada-nāmadheyam').

in high terms as yielding all the ends of life and decried and condemned to hell those who found in the Purāṇas nothing but 'arthavāda'.¹¹⁵ (-Chap. 1). Being asked as to how and where Nārada met Sanatkumāra and what the former spoke to the latter, Sūta said that once Sanatkumāra and the other sons of Brahmā went to the peak of the mountain Meru and prepared to take their holy bath in the Ganges known by the name of Sītā, when Nārada arrived there singing the names of Hari and eulogising the sacred river. Sanatkumāra praised Nārada as the best devotee of Hari and requested him to speak on a number of religious topics including the origin of the universe. In compliance with this request Nārada began by eulogising Hari with the mention of his ten incarnations including Rāma (the carrier of the ploughshare), Īśāna, and another not expressly named but appearing from his description to be none but Kalki. (-Chap. 2).

Thus the contents of the Bṛhannāradiya-p. have been introduced in chaps. 1-2. The remaining chapters deal with the following topics:

The process of origin of the universe from Mahāviṣṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa) who assumes the forms of Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and Rudra by taking to the three Gunas (Rajas, Sattva and Tamas respectively), and also appears as Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Kāla for the sake of creation. Description of Viṣṇu's Parā Śakti, which is differentiated into Vidyā and Avidyā and is said to permeate the whole world and to effect its creation, preservation and destruction. People's naming of this Śakti variously as Umā, Lakṣmī, Bhāratī, Gīṛjā, Ambikā, Durgā, Bhadrakālī, Candī, Vaiṣṇavī, Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī etc. and as Māyā (or

115 Ibid., 1. 56-59—

nindāyām kalahe vāpi hy asantaḥ pāpa-tatparāḥ//
purāṇesv arthavādatvaṃ ye vadanti narādhamāḥ/
tair arjitāni punyāni tadvad eva bhavanti vai//
samasta-karma-nirmūla-sāadhanāni narādhamāḥ/
purāṇāny arthavādena śrutvā narakam aśnute//
yāvad brahmā sṛjaty etaj jagat sthāvara-jangamam/
tāvat sa pacyate pāpi narakāgnisu samtataḥ//

Also 1. 61—

purāṇesu dvija-śreṣṭhāḥ sarva-dharma-pravaktrṣu/
pravadanty arthavādatvam ye te naraka-bhājanāḥ//

Mahāmāyā) for creating infatuation and as Prakṛti for effecting the origin of the universe.

Names of the seven upper worlds (Bhūḥ, Bhuvah etc.) and the seven lower worlds (Atala, Vitala etc.). Geography of the earth;—position of the mountains Meru and Lokāloka which bound the seven oceans and of which the former is situated at the middle of the earth and forms the resort of all the gods and the latter lies at the farthest end of land,¹¹⁶ division of the earth into seven continents (dvīpas, viz., Jambu, Plakṣa etc.); names of the oceans surrounding these continents; relative position and extents of the continents and the oceans, position of Bhāratavarṣa, which is said to be lying on the north of the salt-ocean and on the south of the Himādrī. Praise of Bhāratavarṣa as the best place for pious work and for Viṣṇu-worship. (-Chap. 3).

Praise of faith (śraddhā) and devotion (bhakti), which form the basis of Dharma and ensure success in all enterprises. Eloquent praise of faithful observance of āśramācāra (customs enjoined by one's order of life), without which neither the Veda nor devotion to Hari or Maheśvara is of any avail to one. Benefits of association with good men, especially with the sincere devotees of the Bhagavat. (-Chap. 4).

Characteristics of the best Bhāgavatas, who include those devoutly worshipping Śiva, bearing the sectarian mark Tripundra, and putting on Rudrāksas. (-Chap. 5).

Glorification of the river Gangā, especially at Prayāga, where this sacred river meets the Yamunā, and at Vārāṇasī.

Praise of reading and hearing the Purānas with devotion.

Mention of persons (including teachers and expounders of the Vedas and the Purānas) who are to be regarded as Gurus; classification and praise of Gurus. (-Chaps. 6 and 9).

Praise of bhūmi-dāna (11. 120ff.). Qualifications of persons to whom gifts should be made. (-Chap. 12).

Praise of various pious acts which please Viṣṇu and Śiva; providing Brahmins with means of livelihood; digging tanks, wells etc.; construc-

116 Ibid, 3 44—

bhūtale madhyame meruḥ sarva-deva-samāśrayah /
lokālokaś ca bhūmy-ante tan-madhye sapta sāgarāḥ /,

tion and preservation of temples meant for Viṣṇu or Śiva; dedication of orchards, and of flower-gardens meant for the public or for deities¹¹⁷; plantation of Tulasī plants and making arrangements for their preservation; bathing of Viṣṇu or Śiva with various articles and on different occasions; worship of these deities with various kinds of flowers and with the offer of different articles (including food materials), gift of cows, food, wealth, virgin girls (in marriage), books etc. to Brahmins, medical treatment of diseased persons, especially of Brahmins; rendering of various kinds of service to Viṣṇu or Śiva, their temples, and to Brahmins; and so on. (-Chap. 13).

Names of hells, and description of terrible punishments undergone by the sinners there. Persons to be considered guilty of mahā-pātakas, viz., Brahma-hatyā, surā-pāna, svaṇa-steḥya, etc. Enumeration of sins leading to different hells and deserving different kinds of punishment. (-Chap. 14).

Observance of devotional Vratas on Śukla-dvādaśī and Paurṇamāsī Tithis for a year by worshipping Viṣṇu under particular names in the different months from Mārgaśīrṣa (Agrahāyana) and bringing these Vratas to a conclusion after a year by worshipping Viṣṇu in Sarvato-bhadra Maṇḍalas on the full-moon days of the months of Mārgaśīrṣa and Kārttika respectively. Performance of *homa*, keeping awake at night, and dance and music (both vocal and instrumental) form some of the most essential parts of these Vratas. (-Chaps. 16-17).

Description of other vows, viz., Dhvajāropaṇa-vrata (requiring the hoisting of a flag and the worship of the Sun, Garuḍa and the Moon as well), Hari-pañcaka-vrata (which is to be observed for five days from the Śuklaikādaśī Tithi of every month from Mārgaśīrṣa), Māsopavāsa-vrata (i.e. the vow of observing fast for a month), and Ekādaśī-vrata (-Chaps. 18-21).

Elaborate treatment of Varṇāśrama-dharma (including śrāddha, prāyaścitta, and tithi-nirṇaya for the efficacy of the Śrauta and the

117 Ibid., 13. 55—

sarva-lokopabhogārtham puspārāmam janeśvara/
kurvate devatārtham vā tesām puṇya-phalam śṃu//

Smārta rites), said to have been made in accordance with the prescriptions of Manu and others. (-Chaps. 22-28).

Description of the path of Yama (*yama-mārga*), which is said to be very pleasant for the virtuous but extremely dangerous and painful for the sinners. Nature of these pleasures and sufferings; and the pious acts (such as gift of various things including betel leaves, service to parents and others, reading of Purāṇas, and so on) which cause the pleasures. (-Chap. 29).

Account (in prose) of the course of rebirth of creatures, first as stationary objects of nature (such as trees, creepers, mountains, etc.) and then as worms, insects, beasts and human beings in succession. Gradual rise in caste, profession, and physical and financial condition of human beings in their successive births. Description of the course of development of the fœtus in the mother's womb. Painful experiences of a human being in the different stages of his life. (-Chap. 30).

Ways of attaining final liberation.—Distinction of *yoga* into *Kriyā-yoga* and *Jñāna-yoga*, detailed treatment of *yoga*, with the names of thirty kinds of *āsanas* (modes of sitting for the practice of *yoga*), characteristics of persons to be regarded as sincerely desirous of final liberation. (-Chap. 31).

Praise of rendering devotional service to Viṣṇu and his temples untiringly by body and mind or even unintentionally on rare occasions. (-Chaps. 32-37).

Names and extents of the four Yugas. Conduct of people in the different Yugas, especially in Kali. Praise of reading or hearing the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* (-Chap. 38).

Besides the above contents the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* has a number of stories, which include the following.

Mrkaṇḍu's practice of severe austerities at *Sālagrāma*, and Mārkaṇḍeya's birth as his son and practice of the *Bhāgavata-dharma* at *Sālagrāma* according to Viṣṇu's instructions. (-Chaps. 4-5).

Birth of Sagara in Aurva's hermitage, after the Haihayas and the Tālajanghas had dethroned his proud and jealous father Bāhu, son of Vrka, and administered poison to his mother with the intention of killing him in her womb and Aurva had consoled Sagara's mother and

prevented her from burning herself to death¹¹⁸ after Bāhu's demise in the forest; Sagara's education, military or otherwise, from Aurva, and his crushing defeat of the Śakas, Yavanas and others, whom Vasistha saved from annihilation by Sagara by turning them extra-Vedic and compelling the Pārśnikas (Pārasīkas?) to shave off their heads, the Yavanas to have long hair, and the others to have shaven heads and long beards;¹¹⁹ Sagara's marriage with Keśinī and Sumatī, daughters of a king of the Kauśika family of Vīdarbha, birth of Asamañjasa to Keśinī and of sixty thousand sons to Sumatī as a result of Aurva's boon; reproachable conduct of Asamañjasa and the other sons of Sagara, and the tyrannised gods' approach to Kapila for redress, birth of Amśumat to Asamañjasa; Sagara's performance of a Horse Sacrifice, and Kapila's reducing all the sons of Sagara to ashes for their misbehaviour to him for the sacrificial horse, which was kept in his hermitage by Indra; Amśumat's bringing the horse from Kapila's hermitage, birth of Dilīpa from Amśumat, of Bhagīratha from Dilīpa, and of Sudāsa in the family of Bhagīratha, Sudāsa's son being Saudāsa Mitrasaha.

Dharmarāja's instructions to Bhagīratha to rescue his burnt ancestors from hells by means of the waters of the Gaṅgā; Bhagīratha's consequent worship of Viṣṇu in the Himalayas, and his bringing down the Gaṅgā by propitiating Śiva in accordance with the instructions

118 Among the verses said by Aurva to prevent Sagara's mother from self-immolation occurs the following one.

bālāpatyāś ca garbhinyo hy adrṣṭa-rtavas tathā/
rajasvalā rāja-sute nārohanṭi citāṃ śubhe// (7 65)

This verse has been quoted in Śrināthācārya-cūdāmaṇi's *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* (fol. 93b), Govindānanda's *Śuddhi-kaumudī* (p 83), and Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (II, p. 236).

In his commentary (II 1, p. 59) on the *Parāśara smṛti*, Mādhavācārya also quotes this verse but ascribes it to the 'Nāradya-p.'

(This verse is the same as Nār. I. 7. 52)

119 Bnār. 8 39—

cahāra pārśnikān muṇḍān yavanān lamba-mūrdhajān/
anyāś ca śmaśrulān muṇḍān anyān veda-bahīṣkṛtān//

In the ASB ed. the word 'yavanān' has been spelt as 'javanān'.

received from Bhṛgu living on the bank of the Godāvarī. (-Chaps. 7-8 and 13-15).

Saudāsa Mitrasaha's turning a Rāksasa for twelve years as a result of Vasistha's curse brought on him by a Rāksasa who caused Saudāsa to offer human flesh to Vasistha by appearing first in the form of Vasistha and then in that of Saudāsa's cook and thus took revenge for Saudāsa's killing, during a hunting expedition in a forest on the bank of the Revā (Narmadā), his female mate sporting with him in the form of a tigress. Saudāsa's having the name Kalmāṣapāda for throwing on his own feet the waters with which he was going to curse Vasistha for the mischief done by him. Saudāsa's eating up of a Brahmin sage on the bank of the Narmadā, and the latter's wife's curse to Saudāsa to continue to be a Rāksasa for long and to meet death, during sexual enjoyment. Saudāsa's curse to the Brahmin woman to be a Piśācī. Saudāsa and the Brahmin woman's meeting with a Brahma-rākṣasa, who was formerly a Brahmin, named Somadatta, of Magadha; Saudāsa and others' regaining higher states of existence by coming in contact with the waters of the Gangā. (-Chap.9).

Aditi's austerities after the gods' defeat in a war¹²⁰ with Bali, and Viṣṇu's birth to her as Vāmana and redemption of the kingdom of heaven for the gods. Origin of the Gangā from the waters with which Vāmana's feet were washed by Bali. (-Chaps. 10-11).

Unconscious performance of the Dhvajāropaṇa-vrata by a reckless Sūdra named Mātali and a Nisāda woman named Kokilinī, who, after death, passed to the region of Viṣṇu and were then reborn respectively as king Sumati of the Lunar race and his queen Satyamati. (-Chap. 18).

King Dharmakīrti's degradation by coming under the influence of the Pāśandas, but his rebirth to sage Gālava as his extremely pious son by unconsciously performing the Ekādaśī-vrata. (-Chap. 21).

120 In describing this war the Brhannāradiya-p names a large variety of missiles, which are as follows Drughana, Bhindipāla, Khadga, Paraśu, Tomara, Parigha, Churikā, Danda, Cakra, Śanku, Musala, Ankuśa, Lāngala, Pattīśa, Śakti, Upala, Śataghni, Prāsa, Ayodanda, Musti, Śūla, Kuthāra, Pāśa, Ksudra-yasti (or, Ksudra and Yasti?), Brhacchara, Ayomukha, Tunda, Cakra-danda, Ksudra-pattīśa, Nārāca.—Bnār. 10, 23-27.

Devamālī's repentance after earning a large fortune by unlawful means, his spending half of his wealth in benevolent work, and his attainment of final liberation at Vārāṇasī by worshipping Viṣṇu according to the instructions of a sage named Jānanti. (-Chap. 33).

Sumālī's constant help to his reckless and licentious brother Yajñamālī, and his rescuing the latter from hellish tortures by offering to him a part of his religious merit. (-Chap. 34).

The above contents of the Bṛhannāradiya-p. show that it is a Vaiṣṇava work dealing exclusively with the praise and worship of Viṣṇu, who is very often named as Nārāyaṇa and sometimes also as Vāsudeva, Hari, Janārdana etc., but very rarely as Kṛṣṇa.¹²¹ According to this work the highest deity in his supreme state is Mahāviṣṇu (very often called Nārāyaṇa), who is described as 'avyaya', 'ananta', 'sarva-vyāpin', 'nīrdvandva', 'nirmama', 'māyātīta', 'sadānandaika-vigraha', 'jñāna-svarūpa', 'jagac-caitanya-kāraṇa' and so on,¹²² and said to be existing as one and many.¹²³ It is he who assumes the forms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by taking to the three Guṇas and creates the universe by means of his Parā Śakti (Supreme Active Power), which is differentiated into Vidyā and Avidyā, the former being the intellect (buddhi) that knows no distinction between the cognisor and the cognisable and makes one perceive the unity of all objects¹²⁴ and the latter making the universe appear as different from the god and causing miseries and rebirths.¹²⁵ The Śakti of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, which is also called Māyā or Mahāmāyā for creating infatuation of beings and Prakṛti for effecting the origin of the universe¹²⁶ and is popularly

121 For this name (Kṛṣṇa) see Bnār. 2. 9, 11; 3. 59, 1571; 21. 73; 32. 41

122 Bnār. 3. 1, 25 61-63, 29. 72-76, and so on

123 Ibid., 3. 27—bhinnābhinnā-svarūpena sthito vai paramēśvaraḥ

124 Ibid., 3. 8—jñātr-jñeyādy-upādhis tu yadā naśyati sattamāh/
sarvaika-bhāvanā buddhiḥ sā vidyety abhidhiyate//

125 Ibid., 3. 7—yadā viśvaṃ mahāvisnor bhinnatvena pratiyate/
radā hy avidyā samsiddhā tadā dukkhasya sādhanī//

Also ibid., 3. 9a—evaṃ māyā mahāvisnor bhinnā samsāra-dāyini

126 Ibid., 3. 28—yasya śaktir mahāmāyā jagad-viśrambha-kāriṇī/
viśvotpatti-vidānatvāt prakṛtiḥ procyate budhaiḥ//

See also ibid. 3. 9a (quoted above) and 3. 15 (quoted below).

known by various names such as Umā, Lakṣmī, Bhāratī, Durgā etc., is all-pervading like the god himself;¹²⁷ and it is only by means of Yoga that one can perceive the identity of the god with his Māyā or Avidyā Śakti and thus get away from the latter, which is not unreal nor real nor both, resorts to the Indescribable (Being), and creates the sense of diversity of Paramātmān.¹²⁸

The Brhannārādīya-p. recommends the painting of the sectarian mark Ūrdhvapaundra on all occasions (except Śrāddha according to some)¹²⁹ but severely denounces as extremely sinful and unfit for Śrauta and Smārta rites those persons who mark their limbs with the figures of the Śaṅkha (conch-shell), Cakra (disc) etc. or of the Liṅga (Phallus) created by the application of heat.¹³⁰ It prescribes the use and muttering of the great eight-syllabled Mantra 'om namo nārāyaṇāya'¹³¹ said to be eternally expressive of the god,¹³² praises Bhakti with its ten gradations,¹³³ speaks very highly of serving the god like a

127 Ibid , 3 12-15—

yathā harir jagad-vyāpī tasya śaktis tathā mune/
dāha-śaktir yathāṅgāre svāśrayam vyāpya tisthati//
umeti kecīd āhus tām śaktim lakṣmī cāpare/

brāhmīti vidyāvidyete māyete ca tathāpare/
prakṛtiś ca parā ceti vadanti paramarsayah//

128 Ibid , 31 69-71—

māyino māyayā bhedaṁ paśyanti paramātmāni/
tasmān māyām tyajed yogān mumukṣur vipra-sattamāh//
nāsad-rūpā na sad-rūpā māyā vai nobhayātmikā/
anirvācyāśritā jñeyā bheda-buddhi-pradāyini//
māyavājñāna-śabdena śabdyate muni-sattamāh/
tasmād ajñāna-vicchedo bhaved vigata-māyīnām//

129 Ibid , 24 44-45, which include the following line—ūrdhvapaundram ca tulasiṁ śrāddhe necchanti kecana

130 Ibid , 14 136-142.

131 Ibid , 15. 18, 21, 37-38; 17. 8, 38. 99

132 Ibid , 15 43—

vācya nārāyaṇaḥ prokto mantras tad-vācakaḥ smṛtaḥ/
vācya-vācaka-sambandho nitya eva mahātmānaḥ//

133 Viz , Tāmasādhama, Tāmasa-madhyamā, Tāmasottamā, Rājasādhama, Rājasa-madhyamā, Rājasottamā, Sāttvikādhama, Sāttvika-madhyamā, Sāttvikottamā, and Uttamottamā (Bnār. 14. 195-207).

servant,¹³⁴ and lays special stress on *avyabhicārīṇī bhakti* (unswerving devotion), which arises from pious acts and forms the basis of jñāna yielding final liberation.¹³⁵ In its opinion, a Cāṇḍāla who is sincerely devoted to Viṣṇu is superior to a Brahmin, and a Brahmin having no devotion for Viṣṇu is worse than a Cāṇḍāla.¹³⁶ It contains a good number of hymns mostly in praise of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa¹³⁷ and speaks of innumerable incarnations of the god, of which only the following ten have been named: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Jāmadagnya, Rāma Dāśarathi, Rāma (Muṣali, also called Nanda-sutāgraja), Īśāna and Kalki.¹³⁸

In its discourse on the way of attaining final liberation (mokṣa) in chap. 31 the Bṛhannāradiya-p. deals elaborately with Yoga consisting of Kriyā-yoga and Jñāna-yoga, of which the former requires the worship of all-pervading Viṣṇu in images, twice-born people, the earth, fire, sun, pictures etc. and forms the basis of the latter.¹³⁹ As a matter of fact, worship of Viṣṇu in images forms the preliminary step to the realisation of the god and is meant for 'ignorant people, who always worship the Lord of the Universe in images of stone etc.'¹⁴⁰ It takes jñāna to be the same as *buddhi* purified by the total destruction of

134 Bnār. 14. 204.

135 Ibid., 1. 13; and 31. 27—

jñāna-labhyam param mokṣam prāhus tattvārtha-cintakāh/
tājñānam bhakti-mūlam ca bhaktiḥ sat-karmajā tathā//

136 Ibid., 32. 39, and 35 12.

137 Ibid., 2 20-53; 4 55-63; 4. 84-89; 5 24-32; 11. 19-39, 71-79, 15 57-64; 36. 3-38

138 Ibid., 2. 31-41. See also ibid., 11. 77-78 for some of the names.

139 Ibid., 31. 31-33—

yogas tu dvividhah proktaḥ karma-jñāna-prabhedatah//
kriyā-yogam vinā nṛṇāṃ jñāna-yogo na sīdhyati/
kriyā-yoga-ratas tasmāc chraddhayā harim arcayet//
pratimā-dviṣa-bhūmy-agni-sūrya-citrādiṣudvijāh/
arcayeddharim eteṣu viṣṇuḥ sarva-gato yatah//

140 Ibid., 2. 48—ajñā yajanti viśveśam pāsānādiṣu sarvadā//

sins by supreme faith (parā śraddhā)¹⁴¹ and extols Yoga saying that it is only the Yogins who acquire jñāna yielding mokṣa.¹⁴² On the authority of the Atharva-veda it distinguishes Ātman (or Brahman) into Para and Aparā, of which Para Ātman is beyond the Gunas and Aparā Ātman has Ahamkāra, and Yoga is said to be the perfect realisation of the unity of Para and Aparā Ātman.¹⁴³ As to the correct practice of Yoga it says :

śanaḥ śanaḥ vijetavyāḥ prāṇā matta-gajendravat/
anyathā khalu jāyante mahāroga-bhayaṃkarāḥ // (31. 128).

“Like intoxicated lordly elephants the vital airs should be controlled by and by, otherwise they become dreadful by (creating) dangerous diseases.”

Going to speak on devotional service to Viṣṇu the Bṛhannāradiya-p. extols the sanctity and efficacy of the waters and mud of the Ganges¹⁴⁴ and urges people to maintain the Tulasī plant in their houses, to salute and worship it with great devotion,¹⁴⁵ and to wear its wood and leaves on their ears.¹⁴⁶ A very small particle of Ganges-water in which a Tulasī-leaf has been placed, is said to purify twenty-one generations (9. 133, 138); gift of land with Tulasī plants in it is highly praised (11. 127), and even Viṣṇu is said to wear a ‘Tulasī-mālā’ (31. 138).

141 Ibid., 31. 29-30—

śraddhayā parayā caiva sarva-pāpam pranaśyati//
sarva-pāpeṣu nastesu buddhir bhavati nirmalā/
sarva buddhiḥ samākhyātā jñāna-śabdena sūribhiḥ//

142 Ibid., 31. 31—jñānam ca moksadam prāhuḥ tajjñānam yoginām bhavet

143 Ibid., 31. 57-58—

ātmānam dvividham prāhuḥ parāpara-vibhedataḥ/
dve brahmaṇi veditavye iti cātharvaṇi śrutiḥ//
paras tu nirgunah prokto ahamkāra-yuto 'parah/
rayor abheda-vijñānam yoga ity abhidhiyate//

144 See ibid., chaps. 6, 9 and 37, especially 6. 30 (on the benefits of besmearing the head and body with the mud of the Ganges) and 14. 218-9 (on the benefits of throwing the hair, bones, nails, teeth or ashes of a deceased person into the waters of the sacred river)

145 Ibid., 6. 65, 11. 62, 23. 59-69, 14. 191, 37. 52-53; 37. 65, and so on

146 Ibid., 5. 53, 13. 65.

One of the striking features of the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* is that it repeatedly praises Śiva-worship and declares the unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. Among the best Bhāgavatas it includes those persons who love and worship Śiva, constantly meditate upon him, mutter his five-syllabled Mantra (*namaḥ śivāya*), offer costly sacrifices to him as well as to Hari with great devotion, utter the names of these two deities, carry the sectarian mark Tripuṇḍra, and wear Rudrākṣas (5. 56-61). It gives out Śiva to be a form of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa (15. 74) and regards as 'venerable that Brahmin who looks up, without any idea of distinction, to the Lord of gods (*devēśa*) consisting of Nārāyaṇa and Śiva' (3. 63). Severely denouncing those who distinguish between these two gods it says:

"The Phallus (*liṅga*) assumes the form of Hari, and Hari bears the form of the Phallus. There is not the slightest difference (between them), (and) one who makes (any) distinction, acquires sin.

"(Only) the sinners merged in the ocean of nescience find distinction in the eternal god designated as Hari and Saṃkara.

"It is that imperishable god, the Lord of the worlds and the Cause of causes, who devours up the universe at the end of a Yuga by assuming the form of Rudra.

"Rudra protects the entire universe in the form of Viṣṇu; and Hari creates it by assuming the form of Brahmā and (then) devours it himself.

"The man who differentiates between Hari, Saṃkara and Brahmā, suffers in hell as long as the moon and stars exist.

"It is the decided opinion of the holy scriptures that one who looks upon Hara, Hari and Vidhātṛ as one, attains supreme bliss."¹⁴⁷

In *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* 14. 214-5 Dharmarāja (Kāla) says to king Bhagīratha, "Worship Hara and Viṣṇu, O king, by taking them to be one. The person who distinguishes (between them) becomes guilty of misdeeds of the magnitude of decades of thousands of Brahmin-murder. Śiva is (the same as) this Hari in person, (and) it is Hari who is Śiva himself. One who makes any distinction between them suffers in crores of hells" (14. 214-215).

We have already seen how the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* extols even a Cāṇḍāla who is sincerely devoted to Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and takes him to be superior to a Brahmin who is not so. But this attitude relates simply to religious fervour and does not mean that the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* has no respect for the Vedas and the Vedic views of life and conduct. On the other hand, it prescribes the study of the Vedas to the members of the higher three castes (22. 20, 23-25), declares these works to be as much superior to other scriptures as Keśava is to the other gods (32.9), repeatedly identifies them with Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa,¹⁴⁸ takes Dharma to be rooted in them (4. 17, 27. 64), and urges people to practise, for the satisfaction of Nārāyaṇa, the duties enjoined by these sacred works (3. 80, 27. 64). It includes among the superiors (*guravaḥ*) those people who study the Vedas and correctly explain their meanings to others, and assigns to them the foremost position among those who are specially venerable (9. 89-90, 98). In its opinion, a teacher of the Vedas is to be saluted first of all (23.35), and one becomes a Śūdra and goes to hell by studying scriptures excluding the Vedas (23. 66). It regards Gāyatrī as destructive of all sins and as the mother of the Vedas (6. 61-65), severely denounces those who hate or sell these works,¹⁴⁹ and advises people not to invite under any circumstances in a Śrāddha ceremony a Brahmin who is 'bereft of the Vedas' (26. 35).

It is very natural that with its high regard for the Vedas the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* should extol 'Smṛti' which records Dharma rooted in the Vedas. As a matter of fact, it urges people to follow their own *Gr̥hya-sūtras* in kindling fire (*agnyādhāna*) and performing *boma* and other *Gr̥hya* rites including the sacraments (22. 10a, 26.5off., 23.9), encourages them to practise Dharma as declared in the *Smṛtis* (24.46), looks upon the sellers of these works as great sinners like those of the Vedas (12. 9), and prescribes the observance of *Vratas* and other religious rites on *Tirthas* determined in accordance with the directions of the *Smṛtis* (27. 63). It firmly believes in caste-system, knows the distinction between the various castes and subcastes, and fully recognises the supremacy of Brahmins in society. It warns with residence in hell

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 4. 17, 23 68, and so on.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 4. 17; 12 4-5, 8-9; 14. 49

those who take, enhance or collect the revenue of a village belonging to a Brāhmin and all those who support others in doing so (14. 122-124). In its account of the gradual improvement attained by creatures in their successive births it mentions the following castes, of which each succeeding one is taken to be superior to that immediately preceding it.

Carmakāra, Caṇḍāla, Vyādha, Rajaka, Kumbhakāra, Lohakāra, Suvarnakāra, Tantravāya, Vanik, Śikhājaṭa (?), Dhāvaka, Lekhaka, Bhṛtaka, Śāsanahārin (30. 2).

It assigns the Sūdras and women to a very low position in the social fabric. About these important members of the Hindu society it says:

"A twice-born man who, being invited by a Sūdra, takes his meal, is known as a drinker of wine and thrown outside (the pale of) all (Śrauta and Smārta) Dharma (14. 39).

"Or, a twice-born man who, being asked by a Sūdra, takes his meal, is known as a drinker of wine and deprived (of the right of performing) all (Śrauta and Smārta) work (14. 40).

... ..

"A man who bows down to a Liṅga or (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by a Sūdra, has no escape (from sin) even by (practising) decades of thousands of penances (14. 54).

"One who salutes a Liṅga or (an image of) Hari touched by a Sūdra, undergoes all (kinds of) suffering till the moon and the stars exist (14. 55).

... ..

"By saluting a Liṅga worshipped by an Ābhīra one goes to hell, O king, even though one may be versed in the Vedas or know the meanings of all Śāstras (14. 56b-57).

"One who salutes a Liṅga or even (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by women, lives in Raurava (hell) with a crore of his generations up to the end of a *kalpa* (14.58).

"A Sūdra or women must not touch a Liṅga from the time it is established according to (the right) procedure by those versed in the *mantras* (14.59).

“Neither women nor those invested with the sacred thread, nor the Śūdras, O lord of men, have the right of touching (an image of) Viṣṇu or Śaṃkara (14. 60).

... ..
 “A man who salutes a Liṅga or (an image of) Viṣṇu consecrated by a Śūdra, meets with endless miseries in this very world, not to speak of the next one (14. 62).

“One who salutes a Liṅga or (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by an Ābhīra, meets with destruction, O lord of men. What is the good of speaking anything more? (14. 63).

“By touching (an image of) Keśava or Śiva a Śūdra, one not invested with the sacred thread, women, and a ‘fallen’ man (*patita*) suffer in hell (14. 64).

... ..
 “There is no atonement for those who have association with Śūdra women, (and) nourish their body with food received from Śūdras, (14. 66-67).

... ..
 “A man who reads the Vedas in the proximity of women and Śūdras, goes to hells successively during thousands of crores of *kalpas*” (14. 144).

The Brhannārādīya-p. warns students against having any contact with Śūdras (23. 32), and in connection with one’s profession in distress it says,

“Even in dire distress a twice-born man must not take to the profession of Śūdras. If an infatuated twice-born man does so, he is looked upon as a Cāṇḍāla.

“Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas (*viṣaḥ*) are well-known as ‘twice-born’ people. And they have four stages of life, there being no fifth” (23. 31-32).

From the above statements about the Śūdras and women it appears that these members of the Hindu society were seriously influenced by the ideas and practices of the extra-Vedic sectaries, especially the Buddhists and the Tantriks. As a matter of fact, the Brhannārādīya-p. amply testifies to the great spread of Buddhism and Tantricism, which threatened the very basis of the Varṇāśramadharma of the Vedas. It

uses the name 'Pāṣaṇḍa' for the Buddhists and the Tantriks and defines it saying:

"As the Bauddhas decry the Vedas, they are called Pāṣandins" (14. 70),

"Those who have ceased to perform the sacrifices to the gods and Pitṛs and strayed from the Vedic way (of life), are well-known as Pāṣaṇḍas and undergo a multitude of sufferings" (14. 186),

"A Pāṣaṇḍa is so called by the wise on account of his forsaking the duties of his own caste" (22. 9),

"One who, after forsaking his own (lawful) work, takes to the work of others, is known as a Pāṣaṇḍa and thrown outside (the pale of) all (Śrauta and Smārta) Dharma" (23. 2), and

"That cunning twice-born mortal, who does not perform Samdhyā (i.e. the morning, noon and evening prayer) in times when there is no calamity, is known as a Pāṣaṇḍa and placed outside all (Śrauta and Smārta) work" (25. 29).

That in the above passages the name Pāṣaṇḍa was applied for the Tantriks also is shown by the mention at several places of the worship of the Liṅga or the images of Viṣṇu and Śiva by the Pāṣaṇḍas. For instance, in chap. 14 the Brhannāradiya-p. says that 'by saluting a Liṅga worshipped by the Pāṣaṇḍas one is reduced to the state of a Pāṣaṇḍa even though he may be versed in the Vedas and know the meanings of all Śāstras' (verse 56), and that '(a twice-born man) must not worship even in dream (an image of) Viṣṇu or Śaṃkara (which has been) worshipped by those who have forsaken the customs and usages (ācāra) of their own orders of life' (verse 61). As these extra-Vedic sectaries did not follow the Vedic way of life and disproved the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices by puzzling argumentation, and as association with them made others acquire their habits (21. 53-55), the Brhannāradiya-p. repeatedly warns people against talking,¹⁵⁰ or having any other kind of contact, with them. It says:

"One who enters the house of a Bauddha even in great distress, has no escape (from sin) even by (practising) hundreds of penances. .

"The Bauddhas are called Pāṣaṇḍins, because they decry the Vedas.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 17. 20 (pāṣaṇḍālāpa-varjitaḥ).

So, a twice-born man, if he has (any) regard for the Vedas, must not look at them.

“(One acquires sin), in case one enters the house of a Bauddha knowingly or unknowingly. There is no escape (from sin), (if one does so) knowingly. This is the decision of Śāstras”. (14. 69-71).

Going to deal with the duties (*dharma*) of the different castes and orders of life ‘as prescribed by Manu and others’ (*manvādyaiś coditam ca yat*—22. 6), the Bṛhannāradiya-p. encourages the due performance of Yuga-dharmas by all the castes¹⁵¹ but names a number of lawful practices which, being considered unfavourable for the attainment of heaven and disliked by the people, have been forbidden by wise men in the Kali age. These practices have been mentioned in the following verses:

“karmanā manasā vācā yatnād dharmān samācaret/
asvargyam loka-vidviṣṭam dharmam apy ācaren na tu//
samudra-yātrā-svikārah kamandalu-vidhāraṇam/
dviṣṇānām asavarṇāsu kanyāsūpayamas tathā//
devarena sutotpattir madhuparke paśor vadhah/
māṃsa-dānam tathā śrāddhe vānaprasthāśramas tathā//
dattāksatāyāḥ kanyāyāḥ punar-dānam parasya ca/
dīrgha-kālam brahmacaryam naramedhāśvamedhakau//
mahāprasthāna-gamanam gomedham ca tathā makham/
imān *dharmān kali-yuge varjyān āhur manīṣiṇaḥ*//”
(22.12-16).

“One should carefully practise *dharma* (lawful duty) by work, mind and word, but one should not perform an act which, though legal, is unfavourable for (the attainment of) heaven and is disliked by the people.

“Undertaking of sea voyage, carrying of a kamandalu; marriage of twice-born people with girls of other castes.

“Raising of issue by the husband’s brother, killing of an animal in Madhuparka; offering of meat in Śrāddha, the stage of a forest-hermit.

“Offering again (in marriage), to another (bridegroom), of a married

151 Ibid, 22 11a—yuga-dharmāḥ paṅgrāhyā varṇair etair yathocitam

girl whose marriage was not consummated; celibacy (i.e. studentship) for a long period; (performance of) human sacrifice and horse sacrifice.

"Starting on a great journey; and cow sacrifice.—These *lawful acts* have been declared by the wise as *forbidden in the Kali age*."

As to the Ācāras (customs and usages) deserving practice, the Bṛhannāradiya-p. attaches much importance to those enjoined by one's caste and order of life and decries wilful negligence of these saying:

"One who gives himself up to devotion to Hari without transgressing one's own ācāra, goes to the abode of Viṣṇu which is seen by gods.

"O powerful sage, one who, while performing the duties declared by the Vedas and required by one's own order of life, engages himself in meditation on Hari, attains final beatitude.

"Dharma arises from ācāra, and Acyuta is the lord of Dharma. Being worshipped by one who is engaged in (the practice of) ācāra enjoined by one's stage of life Hari gives everything.

"He who, though being a master of Vedānta together with the Aṅgas, falls from his own ācāra, is known as '*patita*' (fallen from his caste), because he is outside (the pale of Śrauta and Smṛta) work.

"He who deviates from ācāra enjoined by his own order of life, is said to be '*patita*', no matter whether he is given to devotion to Hari or engaged in meditation on him.

"O best of the twice-born, neither the Veda nor devotion to Hari or Maheśvara purifies that fool who has fallen from ācāra.

"Neither visit to holy places, O Brahman, nor residence in sacred Tīrthas, nor performance of various sacrifices saves one who has discarded ācāra.

"Heaven is attained by (the practice of) ācāra, happiness is attained by (the practice of) ācāra, and final release is attained by (the practice of) ācāra. What is not attained by (the practice of) ācāra?"¹⁵²

The Bṛhannāradiya-p. further adds:

"Viṣṇu is not satisfied with one who sticks only to Bhakti after

giving up (all religious) works, because he is to be worshipped with ācāra.

“In all sacred scriptures ācāra has the first consideration. Dharma arises from ācāra, (and) Acyuta is the lord of Dharma.

“Hence such devotion to Hari is to be practised as does not go against one’s own Dharma. Dharma and Artha do not yield happiness to those who do not follow sadācāra (practice of good men).”¹⁵³

Feeling that faithful practice of ācāra may not be possible for all under all circumstances this work says:

“sva-grāme pūṇam ācāram pathy ardham muni-sattamāḥ /
āture niyamo nāsti mahāpadī tathaiṣa ca //” (25. 16).

“Complete ācāra (is to be practised) in (one’s) own village, half (of the same) on the way (during a journey), O best of sages, and there is no rule in times of illness as well as in great distress.”

But it does not attach the same importance to all kinds of ācāra. It recommends ‘vṛddhācāra’ (practice of old men) as acceptable (vṛddhācārāḥ parigrāhyāḥ—24. 45) and says that ‘grāmācāra’ (peculiar practices of villages) may be followed without going against the prescriptions of Smṛtis.¹⁵⁴ As regards ‘deśācāra’ (i. e. the peculiar practices of different countries) this work says:

“deśācārāḥ parigrāhyās tat-tad-deśīyajair naraḥ /
anyathā patito jñeyāḥ sarva-dharma-bahiṣkṛtāḥ //” (22. 17).

“The (peculiar) practices of (different) countries should be followed by the people born in those particular countries. Otherwise, one is known as ‘fallen’ (*patita*) and externed from all (Śrauta and Smārta) Dharma.”

Among the peculiar customs then prevailing in the Hindu society the Bṛhannāradiya-p. mentions the following: difference of opinion as regards right for *upanayana* (investiture with the sacred thread) of the Kuṇḍas, Golakas, idiots and others, or of their sons;¹⁵⁵ a

¹⁵³ Ibid., 14. 209-211.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 22. 11—grāmācāras tathā grāhyāḥ smṛti-mārgāvirodhataḥ.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 23. 65—kuṇḍa-golakayoh kecuḥ jadādinām ca sattamāḥ /
vadanti copanayanam tat-putresu ca kecana //

householder's wearing of two sacrificial threads with an upper garment,¹⁵⁶ two golden ear-ornaments (called kuṇḍala), a turban (uṣṇīṣa), and footwears of wood and leather (pāduke cāpy upānahau);¹⁵⁷ prohibition to a householder against wearing a single piece of cloth and keeping his hair loose during worship, ācamana, bath, etc. (24. 25), against riding camels or cars drawn by these animals (24. 26), against touching the shade of a lamp, a beadstead, and one's body, and also a piece of cloth used for tying the hair, and dusts of goats and cats,¹⁵⁸ and against passing by a cow, a horse, an assembly, a crossway and a temple by keeping them to the left;¹⁵⁹ covering the earth with grass and carrying in hand a piece of wood at the time of passing stool or making water (25.4), and so on.

As to the position of certain members of the Hindu society the Bṛhannāradiya-p. gives us interesting information. According to this work the following persons were looked down upon for their profession: a Nakṣatra-pāṭhaka (also called Nakṣatra-pāṭha-jīvin), i.e. one studying the stars; a Devalaka (temple-priest); a Grāma-yājaka (one serving as a priest for a village); a Loka-yājaka (public priest); a Bhiṣak or Bhiṣak-śāstropajīvin (physician); a Gāyaka (singer), and a Kāvya-kartṛ (composer of poems). About these persons the Bṛhannāradiya-p. makes the following statements: A gift made to a Nakṣatra-pāṭhaka becomes futile (12.6), and he does not deserve salutation (23.38) or invitation in a Śrāddha ceremony (26.11), taking of food offered by a Devalaka is equal to the drinking of wine (14.38); a Grāma-yājaka does not deserve salutation (23.37) or invitation in a Śrāddha ceremony (26.12), the Bṛhannāradiya-p. should not be read to a Loka-yājaka (1.48); one should bathe with one's garments at the sight of a Bhiṣak (24.30); and a Gāyaka, a Kāvya-kartṛ and a Bhiṣak-śāstropajīvin should not be invited in a Śrāddha ceremony (26.17).

156 Ibid., 24. 19—yajñopavita-dvīṭayam sōttariyam ca dhārayet.

157 Ibid., 24. 20-22.

158 Ibid., 24. 32—dīpa-khatvā-tanu-ccchāyā keśa-vastram ghaṭodakam/
ājā-mārjāra-reṇuś ca hanti punyam purā-kṛtam//

159 Ibid., 24. 35—gām aśvam ca sabhām caiva tatthaiva ca catuspatham/
devatāyatanam caiva nāpasavyam vrajed dvijah//

In connection with penance (*prāyaścitta*) treated of in chap. 28 the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* names three varieties of wine (*surā*)—*gaudī*, *mādhvī* and *paiṣṭī* (28.25) and eleven varieties of liquor (*madya*), viz., *tāla*, *pānasa*, *drākṣa*, *kharjura-sambhava*, *mādhūka*, *śaila*, *āviṣṭa*, *maireya*, *nārikelaja*, *gaudī* and *mādhvī* (28.32-33). It declares all kinds of wine as untouchable and undrinkable to the members of the four castes, both male and female, and says that by taking wine (*surā*) as medicine for curing a disease one has to undergo two courses of *Cāndrāyana* and to be invested with the sacred thread again (28.30), that food coming in contact with wine, water kept in a jar which contained wine, and articles of food soaked with wine, are to be considered as equal to wine itself (28.31), and that one guilty of adultery with the *Sūdra* wife of one's teacher (*guru*), must practise the *Prājāpatya Vrata* for three years (28.68). Like the *Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās*, the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* prescribes the performance of *Prāṇāyāma* or the muttering of the *Gāyatrī* as atonement for sin caused by certain acts, viz., stealing of small quantities of gold (of the weights of a *trasareṇu*, a *niska*, a *rājasarṣapa*, a *gosarṣapa*, and a *yava*),¹⁶⁰ touching of certain persons (viz., a woman in her monthly courses, a *Cāṇḍāla*, one guilty of a *Mahāpātaka* or heinous crime, a recently delivered woman, an outcast, and such washermen and others as have not washed their hands and mouths after taking food),¹⁶¹ and hearing their voice in the course of a *Vrata*, etc. (28.92). According to this work the weight of a *suvarṇa* is as follows: 8 *trasareṇus* = 1 *niska*, 3 *niskas* = 1 *rājasarṣapa*, 3 *rājasarṣapas* = 1 *gosarṣapa*, 6 *gosarṣapas* = 1 *yava*, 3 *yavas* = 1 *kṛṣṇāla*, 5 *kṛṣṇālas* = 1 *māsa*, 16 *māsas* = 1 *suvarṇa*.¹⁶²

In describing *Yuga-dharma* in chap. 38 the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* says that no division of the *Veda* was made in the *Kṛta-yuga* (38. 8), that *Nārāyaṇa* was white in the *Kṛta-yuga*, red in *Tretā*, yellow in *Dvāpara*, and black in *Kalī*,¹⁶³ and that the *Veda* was divided in the

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 28. 47-50

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 28. 87-88.

¹⁶² Ibid, 28. 36-39.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 38. 13, 14, 16 and 21.

Dvāpara age (38. 17). As regards the conduct of the people of the Kali age this work makes, in the forms of prophecies, a number of interesting statements, some of which are as follows:

"sarit-tīre baddha-hālair vāpayisyanti cauṣadhīḥ/
 alpaṁ alpam phalam tāsāṁ bhaviṣyati kalau yuge//

 na vratāni carisyanti brāhmaṇā veda-nindakāḥ/
 na yaksyanti na hoṣyanti hetu-vādair vināśitāḥ//

 na kasyacid abhīmato viṣṇu-bhakti-paras tathā/
 deva-pūjā-parāṁ dṛṣtvā upahāsam prakurvate//

 kaleḥ prathama-pāde 'pi vinindanti harim natāḥ/
 yugānte 'pi harer nāma naiva kaścit smarisyati//

 kuhakīr aksarais tatra hetu-vāda-viśāradaiḥ/
 pāṣaṇḍino bhaviṣyanti cāturāśramyā-nindakāḥ//
 na ca dvijāti-śuśrūṣāṁ na sva-dharma-pravartanam/
 karisyanti vidā śūdrāḥ pravrajyā-lingino 'dharmāḥ//
 śūdrā dharmān pravakṣyanti kūṭa-yukti-viśāradāḥ//
 aśauca-yukta-matayaḥ para-pakvānna-bhojanāḥ/
 bhaviṣyanti durātmānaḥ śūdrāḥ pravrajitās tathā//
 utkocī-jīvinas¹⁶⁴ tatra malāpāpa-ratās tathā/
 bhaviṣyanty aha pāṣaṇḍāḥ kāpīlā bhikṣavaḥ tathā//
 dharma-vidhvanisa-śīlānāṁ dvijānāṁ vipra-sattamāḥ/
 (śūdrā dharmān pravakṣyanti pravrajyā-linga-dhārīnaḥ//)¹⁶⁵
 etc cānye ca bahavaḥ pāṣaṇḍā vipra-sattamāḥ/
 brāhmaṇāḥ ksatriyā vaiśyā bhaviṣyanti kalau yuge//
 gīta-vādyā-parā viprā veda-deva-parāṇmukhāḥ/
 bhaviṣyanti kalau prāpte śūdra-mārga-pravartinaḥ//

164 In the Viṃśadharmā (chap 105) there is mention of 'Utkocai' (or Utkaucas) as a class of heretics. See pp. 149 and 150 above.

165 This line (śūdrā dharmān pravakṣyanti etc.) occurs not in the Vāṅga ed, but in the ASB ed, of the Bhannāradya-p

viśvāsa-hīnāḥ piśunā veda-deva-dvijātisu /
asamskrtokti-vaktāro bahu-dveṣa-ratās tathā //

... ..
bhaviṣyanti kalau prāpte rājāno mleccha-jātayah //

... ..
veda-nindā-parāś caiva dharma-śāstra-vinindakāḥ /
śūdra-vṛttyā ca jīvanti dvijā naraka-bhāgiṇaḥ //

... ..
nagaresu ca grāmeṣu prākāresv adhikā janāḥ /
caurādi-bhaya-bhītāś ca kāstha-yantrāni kurvate //
durbhikṣa-kara-pīdādhīr atīvopadrutā janāḥ /
godhūmādhyam yavānnādhyam deśam yāsyanti duḥkhitāḥ //

... ..
pāpa-jālena nīratāḥ (niyatāḥ?) pāsanda-jana-saṅgiṇaḥ /
yadā dvijā bhaviṣyanti tadā vṛddhiṃ gataḥ kalīḥ //”¹⁶⁶

“(People) will cause (men) with set ploughs (baddha-hāla) to sow herbs on the banks of rivers, but the output of those (herbs) will be very scanty in the Kali age (38. 43).

... ..
“The Brahmins, denouncing the Vedas, will not observe (any) vows, nor, being spoiled by (heretical) reasonings, will they perform any sacrifice or *homa* (38. 46).

... ..
“A person sincerely devoted to Viṣṇu will not be liked by any one, and people will ridicule (the devotees of Viṣṇu,) finding (them) given to the worship of the god (38. 49c-50a).

... ..
“Even during the first quarter of the Kali age people will decry Hari, and at its end also none will remember his name (38. 52).

... ..
“Being influenced by the roguish experts in (heretical) dialectics, with (promises of) final beatitude people will become Pāṣandins and decry the four stages of life (38. 54).

166 Bnār. 38, 43, 46, 49b-50a, 52, 54-61, 64, 74b, 79, 86-87, 91.

"At that time the vile Śūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will not serve the twice-born people, nor will they practise their own *dharma* (38. 55).

"The Śūdras, skilled in puzzling argumentation, will instruct *dharma* (38. 56).

"The wicked Śūdras will have unholy mental tendencies, turn wandering mendicants, and subsist on food prepared by others (38. 57).

"Living on bribe and being given to heinous crimes they will become Pāṣaṇḍas, Kāpālas and Bhikṣus (38. 58).

"O best of Brahmins, the Śūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will instruct *dharma* to the twice-born men habituated to its destruction (38. 59).

"In the Kali age, O best of Brahmins, these and many other Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas will become Pāṣaṇḍas (38. 60).

"After the Kali age comes up, the Brahmins given to song and instrumental music but averse to the Vedas and the gods, will set themselves to the path of the Śūdras (38. 61).

... ..

"(They will become) faithless and slanderous about the Vedas, gods and twice-born (men), utter unrefined speech, and be engaged in hostility with many (people) (38. 64).

... ..

"After the Kali age comes up, persons belonging to the Mleccha tribes will become kings (38. 74b).

... ..

"Being given to the denouncement of the Vedas and decrying the Dharma-śāstras, the twice-born (people) will live by (following) the profession of the Śūdras deserving residence in hells (38. 79).

... ..

"Being afraid of thieves etc. the majority of people in cities and villages will set machines of wood in walls (or ramparts) (38. 86).

"Being very much affected by the sufferings caused by famine and taxation people will feel distressed and migrate to countries rich in wheat and barley-food (38. 87).

... ..

“When, being bound by a multitude of sins, the twice-born people will associate with the extra-Vedic people (pāṣanda-jana), then Kālī will grow (in power) (38. 91).”

From the above statements it is evident that at the time when the Bṛhannāradiya-p. was composed there was a great spread of the extra-Vedic faiths, especially Buddhism and Tantricism, which seriously affected the social discipline required for the Dharma rooted in the Vedas.

Following the Bhagavad-gītā the Bṛhannāradiya-p. (3. 78ff.) encourages selfless work, which is to be done only for the satisfaction of Viṣṇu and not with a desire for the reward. It advises people to work untiringly and to dedicate all their actions to Viṣṇu in case they desire to enjoy their fruits in the next world (3. 77). Like many other Purāṇas this work has a pessimistic view of life and takes the body to be ‘rooted in sin’ and ‘engaged in doing sinful acts’ (31. 6). In chap. 29 it gives an account of the sufferings of the sinners in the path of Yama and describes Citra-gupta, an officer of Yama, thus:

“pralayāmbudhi-nirghosaḥ añjanādrī-sama-prabhah/
vidyut-prabhāyudhair bhīmo dvāvīṃśad-bhuja-samyutah//
yojana-traya-vistāro raktākṣo dīrgha-nāsikah//
daṃstrā-karāla-vadano vāpī-tulya-vilocanaḥ//
mrtyu-jvarādibhir yuktaś citragupto vibhīṣaṇaḥ/” (29.50-52a).

“Having a thundering voice like the roar of the ocean at the dissolution (of the universe), possessing splendour like that of a mountain of collyrium, looking dreadful with weapons shining like lightning, and having twenty-two hands, an extent of three *yojanas*, red and well-like eyes, a long nose, and a mouth made dreadful by large teeth, Citragupta, attended by Death, Fever and others, looks extremely terrible.”

We shall now discuss the date of composition of the present Bṛhannāradiya-p.

From the analysis of the contents of this work given above it is evident that it is a purely sectarian work lacking all the characteristics of a Mahāpurāṇa. Its title ‘Bṛhannārada’ or ‘Bṛhannāradiya’, occurring

in the body of the chapters¹⁶⁷ as well as in the colophons, indicates that it is not the original Nāradiya-p., the words 'br̥hat,' 'vr̥ddha' etc. being found to be prefixed to the titles of comparatively late works only. As the present Nāradiya-p. incorporates all the chapters of the Br̥hannāradiya,¹⁶⁸ we cannot agree with Winternitz in holding that the Br̥hannāradiya-p. 'is generally so called to distinguish it from the Nārada - or Nāradiya - Upapurāṇa'.¹⁶⁹ That this work is merely an Upapurāṇa and not the same as the genuine Nāradiya-p., is shown definitely by the Matsya, Skanda and Agni-p., of which the first describes the Nāradiya-p. as follows:

“yatrāha nārado dharmān br̥hat-kalpāśrayāṇi ca/
pañcaviṃśat-sahasrāṇi nāradiyaṃ tad ucyate//”

(Mat. 53.23)

“That (Purāṇa,) in which Nārada proclaims the (religious) duties as well as (other matters) connected with the Br̥hat Kalpa and (which contains) 25000 (verses), is called Nāradiya”.

167 See Bnār. 1. 36 and 66, and 38 132. See also foot-note 114 above.

168 The chapters of the Br̥hannāradiya-p., as occurring in the Nāradiya-p., are as follows:

Br̥hannāradiya-p.,	Nāradiya-p.,	Br̥hannāradiya-p.	Nāradiya-p.
chaps 1-11	=chaps. 1-11.	chaps 14-17	=chaps 15-18
12. 1-12	—cf. 12. 1-28	18. 1-50	=chap 19.
13. 1-5	= x	18. 51-131	= 20. 3-86
13 6-39	= 12. 29-58.	chaps. 19-24	=chaps 21-26.
	= 12 59-98 (on the story of king Virabhadra of Gaudadeśa, whose minister Buddhisāgara excavated a dried up tank).	chap. 25 (except verses 24-26)	=chap 27 (except verses 23b-65a on snāna and samdhya with the performance of nyāsa)
		chaps 26-34	=chaps 28-36
		35 1-70	=chap 37.
13. 40-212	=chap. 13.	35 71-129	= „ 38.
	=chap. 14 (on occasions for impurity, and the requisite penances for purification)	chaps. 36-37	=chaps 39-40 .
		38. 1-126 (except verses 127-149)	=chap. 41 (especially except verses 116-122).

169 Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p 557

The Skanda (VII. 1.2.43) and the Agni-p. (272.8), which do not differ materially from the Matsya in laying down the characteristics of the Nāradiya-p., describe this work thus:

“yatrāha nārado dharmān brhat-kalpāśrayāms tv iha
 (Agni-p.—brhat-kalpāśritān iha)/
 pañcaviṁśat-sahasrāṇi (Agni-p.—pañcaviṁśa-sahasrāṇi)
 nāradiyam tad ucyate//”

“That (Purāna,) in which Nārada proclaims such (religious) duties in this world as were connected with the Brhat Kalpa and (which contains) 25000 (verses), is called Nāradiya”.

From these descriptions it is evident that the Nāradiya-p., as known to the Matsya, Skanda and Agni-p., had Nārada as the principal speaker, described the (religious) duties connected with the Brhat Kalpa, and contained 25000 verses. But in the Brhannāradiya-p., though Nārada is said to have spoken to Sanatkumāra on various kinds of (religious) duties, there is no mention of the Brhat Kalpa, and the number of verses is only about 3600. Moreover, the Ekāmra-p. and the Brhaddharma-p. clearly distinguish the Brhannāradiya from the Nāradiya-p., naming both of them side by side in their lists of Upapurāṇas,¹⁷⁰ and the manner in which the Smṛti-writers refer to and quote verses from this Upapurāṇa as well as from the Nāradiya, shows that it was known to them under the title Brhannāradiya-p. and not as Nāradiya. So, there is little scope for doubt that our Brhannāradiya is an Upapurāṇa quite distinct from the Nāradiya-p.

This work names the Rāsis (zodiacal signs) and the week-days on more occasions than one,¹⁷¹ and betrays its knowledge of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. in the following verse:

“ārādhito jagannātho mārkaṇḍeyena dhīmatā/
 purāṇa-saṁhitām kartum dattavān varam acyutah//” (5.4).

¹⁷⁰ For these lists see Chap I (pp. 13 and 10) above.

¹⁷¹ For the names of the Rāsis see Bnār. 6 31, 6. 39, and 27, 22-25, and for those of the week-days see ibid , 13, 80, 88, 89 and 91 (Bhānu-vāra, Soma-vāra, Indu-vāra).

No work preceding the Yājñavalkya-smṛti betrays any knowledge of the

“Being propitiated by the wise Mārkaṇḍeya, Acyuta, the lord of the world, granted (him) a boon to compile a *Purāṇa-saṃhitā*”.

A comparison of the description of the conduct of the people and the activities of the Pāṣaṇḍas in the Kali age, as given in *Bṛhannāradiya-p.*, chap. 38, with that occurring in *Viṣṇudharma*, chap. 105, shows that the account of the former work is clearly based on that of the latter, from which it derives a good number of peculiar verses.¹⁷² It is cognisant of Viṣṇu's Śakti and says that this Śakti permeates the whole world and effects its creation, preservation and destruction, and that she is identical with Umā, Laksmī, Durgā and others and also with Prakṛti and Māyā (or Mahāmāyā) which subjects all creatures to rebirths. Thus, the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* records a developed Śakti theory, which points to a date posterior to that of the *Jayākhyā-saṃhitā*¹⁷³ and not earlier than about 550 A. D. By its statements that even Ajāmīla, a sinner and drunkard, earned freedom from sins and attained the highest region by simply uttering the name ‘Nārāyaṇa’¹⁷⁴ (which was given to his youngest son) and that the great elephant (*gajendra*) got free from the clutch of the crocodile by praising the god Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa,¹⁷⁵ the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* clearly

Rāsis, which, therefore, appear to have been unknown to the Indians down to the beginning of the second century A. D.

The earliest dated mention of a week-day has been traced in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D. (See Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 88-89)

172 See, for instance, *Bnār.* 38 52, 54-58, 64b, etc., for which, as occurring in the *Viṣṇudharma*, see foot-note 108 on pp. 149-150 above.

We have already seen that the date of composition of the *Viṣṇudharma* is to be placed between 200 and 300 A.D. (See p. 143 above).

173 This *Samhitā* is dated about 450 A.D., and in it Laksmī, Jayā, Kirtu and Māyā are called Viṣṇu's Śakti but are not said to play any part in creation.

174 *Bnār.* 2. 44—

surāpatō 'pi yannāma kīrtayitvā hy ajāmīlah/
prapede paramam sthānam //

Also 11. 29—

ajāmīlo 'pi pāpātmā yan-nāmoccāranoddhrtah/
prāptavān paramam dhāma //

175 *Ibid.*, 2. 28—yan-nāma-samkīrtanato gajendro grāhogra-bandhān
mumucc sa eva// //

refers to Bhāgavata-p. VI. 1-2 and VIII.2-4 respectively. It knows Bhāravi's Kīrātārjunīya and Bhaṭṭi's Rāvana-vadha (*alias* Bhaṭṭi-kāvya), some of the expressions of which it imitates here and there.¹⁷⁶ It derives a complete verse¹⁷⁷ from Bhartṛhari's Nīti-śataka and composes two others¹⁷⁸ in imitation of a verse of his Vairāgya-śataka. It speaks very highly of the Tulasī plant and, unlike other early works, deifies it and inculcates its worship. So, this Upapurāna cannot be dated earlier than about the last quarter of the seventh century A. D. The doctrine of nonduality and illusion, summarily referred to in Bnār. 31. 57ff., shows that it could not have been written much earlier than Śaṅkarācārya.

Again, a Ms of the Brhannāradiya-p., lying in the Dacca University Library, is dated Śaka 1578 (= 1656 A.D.),¹⁷⁹ another, preserved in the Durbar Library, Nepal, bears the date La.-Sam.425 (= 1544 A.D.),¹⁸⁰ and a third, kept in the India Office Library, London, is dated 1535 A. D.¹⁸¹ The Text of this work, as preserved in these

176 Compare, for instance, Bnār 18 108 (samyag-viveka-śūnyatvam āpadām hi padam mahat) and 32 29 (vapur vināśa-nīlayam āpadām paramam padam) with Kīrātārjunīya 2 30 (avivekah param āpadām padam) and 11 12-13 respectively, and Bnār 7 9-10 (īyāja so 'śvamedhān vai . . // atarpayat surān sarvān . . //, aramsta nīti-śāstresu vyajesta paripanthinah/ mene krtārtham ātmānam . . //) with Rāvana-vadha 1 2 (so 'dhyaista vedāms tridaśān ayasta pītrān atārpsit samamamsta bandhūn/ vyajesta śadvargam aramsta nītau samūlaghātam nyavadhīd arimś ca//)

177 Bnār. 35. 37—

mrga-mīna-sajjanānām trna-jala-samtosa-vihīta-vrttinām/
lubdhaka-dhivara-pīśunā niskārana-vairino jagatī//

[This verse is the same as verse 50 of Bhartṛhari's Nīti-śataka

178 Bnār 32 26-27—

he janāh kim na paśyadhvam āyuso 'rdham tu nidrayā/
hrtam ca bhojanādyaiś ca kīyad āyuh samāhrtam//
kīyad āyur bāla-bhāvād vṛddha-bhāvāt kīyaddhrtam/
kīyad visaya-bhogaiś ca kadā dharmān karisyatha//

Compare these verses with the following verse (No 49) of the Vairāgya-śataka

āyur varsa-śatam nṛnām parimitam rātrau tad-ardham gatam
tasyārdhasya parasya cārdham aparaṃ bālatva-vṛddhatvayoh/ etc.

179-181 See foot-note 113 above.

Ms., tallying fully with that given by the printed editions, the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* cannot be dated later than the middle of the fifteenth century A. D. As Bhāskara (or Bhairava)¹⁸² draws upon chap. 13 of the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* in his *Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha*, Miśra upon chaps. 2, 4, 11, 13, 24 and 25 in his *Vīramitrodaya*, Anantabhaṭṭa upon chaps. 13, 14 and 22-24 in his *Vidhāna-pārijāta*, Sūra Miśra upon chap. 25 in his *Jagannātha-prakāśa*,¹⁸³ Gopāla-bhaṭṭa upon chaps. 1-6, 11, 13, 18, 21, 23, 28, 32, 34, 35, 37 and 38 in his *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, Raghunandana upon chaps. 7, 14, 22 and 24 in his *Smṛti-tattva*, Gaṇapati (of Mithilā) upon chaps. 14 and 15 in his *Gaṅgā-bhakti-caraṅgiṇī*, Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya upon chaps. 7, 14 and 25-27 in his *Varṣa-kaumudī*, Śrāddha-kaumudī and *Suddhi-kaumudī*, and Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi upon chaps. 7, 14 and 24 in his *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*,¹⁸⁴ and as Sūlapāṇi refers definitely to and quotes a line from chap. 16 with the mention of the title '*Bṛhannāradiya*' in his *Vrata-kāla-viveka*,¹⁸⁵ the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* can by no means be placed later than 1300 A. D. It has already been said that the *Bṛhaddharma-p.*, which was written in Bengal most probably in the last half of the thirteenth century A. D.,¹⁸⁶ names both the

182 In the ASB Ms (No 5946) of the *Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha*, which is the only Ms of this work hitherto discovered, the name of the author has been given as Bhairava in the second introductory verse and as Bhāskara in the final colophon. But unfortunately both the introductory verses and the final colophon were added in a later hand.

As the name 'Bhāskara' occurs in the title of the work, we have preferred it to 'Bhairava' given in the second introductory verse.

183 This is an extensive *Smṛti* work composed at Indraprastha (Delhi) in Samvat 1654 (=1598 A.D.) under the patronage of Jagannātha, a scion of the Solar dynasty, who was born in Samvat 1603 (=1547 A.D.)

184 A complete list of the quoted verses will be given in the final Volume of the present work.

185 See *Vrata-kāla-viveka*, p 20—*brhannāradiyokta-mārgaśiṣādi-dvādaśa-māsiya-dvādaśivratasya 'mārgaśiṣe śubhe māsi dvādaśyām samupositah' ityādi-vacanena* /

The quoted line is much the same as *Bnār.* 16. 4.

186 A detailed discussion on the date and provenance of the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* will be made in a subsequent Volume of the present work. See,

Brhannāradiya and the Nāradiya-p. in its list of Upapurānas. The Uttara-khaṇḍa (of the Bengal Śiva-p.), which was composed in Bengal not later than the twelfth century A. D.,¹⁸⁷ names a 'Nāradiya' Purāṇa called 'Brhannārada' and distinguishes it from the major Purāṇa called Nāradiya, saying:

“nāradoktaṃ purāṇaṃ tu nāradiyam pracaksate/
tasmād anyan nāradiyam brhannārada-samjñakam//”¹⁸⁸

“But the Purāṇa spoken out by Nārada (people) call Nāradiya. The Nāradiya other than that (Purāṇa) is named Brhannārada”.

Like the Brhaddharma-p., the Ekāmra-p. also names both the Brhannāradiya and the Nāradiya-p. in its list of Upapurānas, and we shall see afterwards that the Ekāmra-p. was written in Orissa some time during the tenth or eleventh century A.D.¹⁸⁹ So, the Brhannāradiya-p. has to be dated not later than the middle of the tenth century A.D.

Here we should like to examine the mutual relation between the Brhannāradiya-p. and the present Nāradiya and see whether this relation renders us any help in making a nearer approach to the date of composition of the former work.

We have already seen how the present Nāradiya-p. incorporates all the chapters of the Brhannāradiya with the exception of a few verses. There is no doubt that it is the Nāradiya-p. which borrows these chapters from the Brhannāradiya. As a matter of fact, the present Nāradiya-p. is practically an Upapurāṇa in which there is no mention of the Brhat Kalpa and Nārada appears not as a speaker anywhere in its two Parts (called Pūrva-bhāga and Uttara-bhāga) but

however, Hazra in Journal of the University of Gauhati, Vol. VI, 1955, pp. 245-263.

¹⁸⁷ A detailed analysis of the Bengal Śiva-p. and a full discussion on its date will be made in Vol. III of the present work. For a preliminary study of this work see Hazra in Our Heritage, Vol. I, 1953, pp. 59-61 and 66-68.

¹⁸⁸ Dacca University Ms No 4233 (of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Śiva-p.), chap 23 (fol 152a).

¹⁸⁹ The questions relating to the date and provenance of the Ekāmra-p. will be discussed in Vol. III of the present work. See, however, Hazra in Poona Orientalist, XVI, 1951, pp. 70-76.

as a hearer, to whom Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and Sanātana speak respectively in the four sections (Pāda) of the First Part (Pūrva-bhāga) only. Now, the question arises as to when the Nāradiya-p. incorporated the Brhannāradiya to form the first section of its First Part. An Examination of the Smṛti commentaries and Nibandhas shows that several hundreds of verses on Śrāddha, Tithi-nirnaya, Gaṅgā-māhātmya, Gaṅgā-snāna, etc. have been quoted from the 'Nāradiya-p.' or 'Nāradiya' in Devaṇabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Bhāguri's Smṛti-sāra-samuccaya (fol. 41b), Śrīdatta Upādhyāya's Samaya-pradīpa (fol. 10a), Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakura's Kṛtya-ratnākara (p. 637) and Tithi-nirnaya (fol. 12a), Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti, Madanapāla's Madanapārijāta (pp. 265, 507, 539), Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's Gaṅgā-vākya-āvali, Rudradhara Upādhyāya's Varṣa-kṛtya (pp. 157-158), Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa's Tantrasāra (I, p. 47), Vācaspati-miśra's Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi, Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's Haribhakti-vilāsa, Gadādhara's Kālasāra, Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Sūra Miśra's Jagannātha-prakāśa (fols. 74b, 78b, 79a), and many other works. Most of these quoted verses occur in the Uttara-bhāga of the present Nāradiya-p.,¹⁹⁰ but only a very few lines¹⁹¹ can be traced in Pūrva-

190 For a list of these verses see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 315-317
The verses ascribed to the 'Nāradiya-p.' or 'Nāradiya'

in	
(1) Caṇḍeśvara's Tithi-nirnaya, fol. 12a = Nār. I. 23 8.	(3) Gaṇapati's Gaṅgā-bhakti- taranginī, fol 5b = Nar. II 39 25b-26a fol. 15b = Nar. II 38. 34 fol. 52a = Nar. II. 38. 38.
(2) Vidyāpati's Gaṅgā-vākya-āvali, p. 259 = Nar. II. 38. 38.	

191 Viz., two lines 'yāni kāmāni ca pāpāni etc.' (=Nār. I. 23. 8) quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 995, and III ii, p. 153, Caṇḍeśvara's Tithi-nirnaya, fol. 12a, and Gadādhara's Kālasāra, p. 127, seven lines from 'śvayuk-śuklanavami etc.' (=Nār. I. 29 52b-55) quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. i, p. 255; two lines 'bālāpatyāś ca garbhinyah etc.' (=Nār. I. 7. 52) quoted in Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti (II. i, p. 59), eight lines (=Nār. I. 28. 2b, 20b, 63-64a, 67 and 69a) quoted in

bhāga, chaps. 1-41 (which, as we have already seen, are very much the same as Bṛhannāradiya-p., chaps. 1-38), although among these chapters there are some which deal elaborately with the said topics (viz., Śrāddha, Tithi-nirṇaya, Gaṅgā-māhātmya, Gaṅgā-snāna, etc.). It is particularly remarkable that of the numerous verses ascribed to the 'Nāradiya-p.' or 'Nāradiya' in Devanabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's Haribhakti-vilāsa, Ganapati's Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅginī, and Sūra Miśra's Jagannātha-prakāśa, not a single occurs in the first section (comprising chaps. 1-41) of Nāradiya-p., Pūrva-bhaga, and that, of more than a century of verses quoted by Hemādri from the same work, only nine lines (quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi II. 1, p. 995, III. 1, p. 255, and III. 11, p. 153) agree with Nāradiya-p. I. 23. 8 and I. 25. 52b-55. Similar is the case with Raghunandana, Gadādhara and several others, very few of whose quotations from the 'Nāradiya-p.' are traceable in the first section of Nāradiya-p., Pūrva-bhāga. This shows that the 'Nāradiya-p.', known to Devanabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and many others, constitutes a part of the Uttara-bhāga of the present Nāradiya-p. and did not comprise the Bṛhannāradiya. The rare coincidences between the verses ascribed by these writers to the 'Nāradiya-p.', on the one hand, and those of chaps. 1-41 of Nāradiya-p., Pūrva-bhāga, on the other, must be explained by saying that these particular verses occurred in the original Nāradiya-p. now lost to us, and that they have been retained in the Bṛhannāradiya-p. but lost from the 'Nāradiya-p.' known to Devanabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and others. As a matter of fact, the Uttara-bhāga of the present Nāradiya-p. begins abruptly without introducing the interlocutors Vasistha and Māndhātṛ or explaining the occasion for Vasistha's narration of the Purāṇa topics. This shows that the 'Nāradiya-p.' known to Devanabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and others has not been preserved completely in the Uttara-bhāga of the present Nāradiya.

From the above discussion it is evident that the determination of

Govindānanda's Śrāddha-kaumudī, pp. 79, 83, 169 and 172; and five lines (=Nār I. 27. 66, 30. 9b-13a, and 13. 98a) quoted in Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 369 and 543, and II, p. 365.

the period of incorporation of the Bṛhannāradiya-p. into the present Nāradiya is useless for any chronological deduction with respect to the former work. We are, therefore, obliged to place *the date of its composition between 750 and 900 A.D.* As this work does not appear to have any major interpolation, this date may safely be taken to be that of all its parts.

Though being a comparatively late work and having its origin in a society which saw a great spread of Buddhism and Tantricism, the Bṛhannāradiya-p. is entirely free from Tantric influence. It recommends the drawing of the Sarvatobhadra-maṇḍala and its painting with various hues in certain religious rites¹⁹² but does not include the Tantric Yantra among the mediums of worship,¹⁹³ nor does it prescribe any Tantric Mantra or symbol or recognise the authority of the Tantric works.

Although we have got no correct knowledge about the provenance of the Bṛhannāradiya-p., there is little doubt about the fact that it was composed somewhere in Northern India. It repeatedly mentions and praises Prayāga and the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā,¹⁹⁴ and especially Vārāṇasī and the Śiva-liṅga there,¹⁹⁵ refers, on one occasion, to the use of cars drawn by camels (uṣṭra-yāna—Bnār. 24. 26), and names the following twelve rivers as specially sacred: Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī, Kṛṣṇā, Revā, Sarasvatī, Tuṅgabhadrā, Kāverī, Kālindī, Bāhudā, Vetravatī, Tāmraparnī and Śatadru¹⁹⁶ (most of them belonging to Southern India). On the other hand, it is the Ekāmra-p. (written in Orissa) which is the earliest work to name the Bṛhannāradiya-p. and to recognise it as an authoritative Upapurāṇa. Following the Ekāmra-p., two Purāṇic works of Bengal, viz., the Uttara-khaṇḍa (of the Bengal Śiva-p.) and the Bṛhaddharma-p., recognise the authority of the Bṛhannāradiya-p. without a shade of doubt. Among the Smṛti-writers it is Śūlapāṇi of Bengal who is the first to draw upon this work; and it is remarkable that the comparatively early Smṛti-writers

192 See Bnār. 16. 83, and 17. 27.

193 Viz., Pratimā, Dvija, Bhūmī, Agni, Sūrya, Citra, etc Bnār. 31. 33.

194 See Bnār. 1. 41, 6. 5, 6. 9, 6. 37, and so on

195 Ibid., 6. 37, 6. 48, 33. 71, 34. 54-55, and so on

196 Ibid., 6. 32-33

recognising the authority of the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* belong mostly to Bengal and very rarely to Mithilā, that this work came to be accepted as an authority on Dharma in other parts of Northern India much later, and that it was unknown in Southern India to a still later period. So, it seems that some person from the land about the Narmadā or Vārānasī migrated to the eastern part of Orissa or the western part of Bengal and wrote the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* immediately after settling there. It is perhaps for this reason that this work refers very often to the use and gift of betel-leaves¹⁹⁷ and denounces the stealing of betel-nuts (14. 43) and makes no mention of the rivers and holy places of Bengal, Orissa or Mithilā.

The *Bṛhannāradiya-p.* contains a number of interesting lines and verses including the following:

- (a) saśaṅkaḥ sarvadā duḥkhī niḥsaṅkaḥ sarvadā sukhī/
sarva-bhūta-hito dānto niḥsaṅkaḥ sarvadaiva hi// (4.74).
- (b) yasya mātā grhe nāsti bhāryā cāpriya-vādinī/
araṇyam tena gantavyam yathāranyam tathā grham// (10.44).
- (c) yasya mātā grhe nāsti putrā dharmā-parāyanāḥ/
sādhvī ca strī pati-prāṇā yātavyam tena vai vanam// (10.48).
- (d) ātma-buddhiḥ śubhakarī guru-buddhir viśesataḥ/
para-buddhir vināśāya strī-buddhiḥ pralayaṃkarī// (11.93).
- (e) tyaja durjana-saṃsargam bhaja sādhu-samāgamam/
kuru punyam ahorātram smara viṣṇum sanātanam// (15.17).
- (f) na jātu kāmāḥ kāmānām upabhogena śāmyati (31. 99).
- (g) picumardāḥ phalādhyo 'pi kākair evha bhujyate (34. 13).
- (h) sujano na yāti vairam para-hita-buddhir vināśa-kale 'pi/
chede 'pi candana-tarur vāsayati mukham kuṭhārasya/(35.34)¹⁹⁸

The great popularity of the verses (b) and (d) in Bengal seems to point to this province as the place of origin of the *Bṛhannāradiya-p.*, which belongs to the *Bhāgavatas*.

197 See *ibid.*, 13. 142 (on praise of tāmbūla-dāna), 19. 8 (on offer of tāmbūla to Viṣṇu in Haripaṇcaka-vrata), 24. 36 (prohibition to take tāmbūla in an impure state), 26. 3 (tāmbūla—not to be taken by one performing Śrāddha), 26. 78 (offer of tāmbūla to the Brahmins fed in a Śrāddha ceremony), 29. 33 (pleasure enjoyed by a giver of tāmbūla).

198 This verse has been ascribed to Ravigupta in *Sārṅgadhara-paddhati*, p. 38 (No. 237), but quoted anonymously in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāsitāvalī*, p. 38 (No. 241).

CHAPTER V

SOME LOST SAURA AND VAIṢṆAVA UPAPURĀṆAS

For more than two thousand years the Purāṇas have constituted a living literature in India, being intended to guide the common people in their religious and social life in different ages and also sometimes in different localities. The political changes and religious movements, which ancient and mediaeval India experienced not infrequently, could not be expected to allow the life of the people to remain static, but great care was taken by the Brahmins to preserve as far as possible the Vedic basis of religion and society under changed circumstances. As it was not possible for these leaders of the Hindu society to ignore totally the environments and the influence of the age, they had often to make a compromise between the old and the new life, and this spirit of compromise was responsible for the total extinction of some of the Purāṇic works and for changes and modifications in others. Among the principal Purāṇas the genuine Brahma, Brahmavarivarta and Garuḍa-purāṇa are still untraceable, the present Purāṇas of the same titles being spurious works of later dates. The loss sustained by the Upapurāṇa literature also is not negligible, and this will be evident from the number and nature of the extinct works treated of in the following pages and in the other Volumes of the present work. Of these extinct Upapurāṇas, not a single is now found to exist in manuscripts or printed forms. Isolated verses or extracts from some of these Upapurāṇas have been preserved as quotations in the Smṛti, Nibandhas, but the rest are known merely by name either from the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Purāṇic and other works, or from the treatises on Vrata, Māhātmya, etc. which claim to be parts of these. It is, however, not quite impossible that manuscripts will be discovered some day of one or more of these Upapurāṇas which we now take to be extinct.

Our highly imperfect knowledge of the vast area of India and the literary activities of her people in the different ages of her history, stands seriously in the way of our preparing an exhaustive list of the

lost Upapurānas. So, we have been compelled to limit our treatment of these lost works only to those few Upapurānas which have been named, described or drawn upon in various works, especially in those of the Purāna and the Smṛti literature. Of these few works, again, we supply information, in the following pages, only about those which have been known to have belonged definitely to the Sauras and the Vaisnavas. The former sectaries, as the Bhaviṣya-p. indicates, began their literary activity quite early, but their output was very scanty unlike that of the Vaisnavas, whose numerical strength has been balanced by their zealous literary activity in all ages.

We shall now record our information about the extinct Saura and Vaisnava Upapurānas separately in two groups (A) and (B).

(A)

1. THE SAURADHARMA

This work has been mentioned in the Bhaviṣya-p.¹ together with the 'eighteen Purānas', 'the Biography of Rāma' (i.e. the Rāmāyaṇa), the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇudharma, the Śivadharmā and other sacred works which are to be known by the technical term '*Jaya*'. So, according to the Bhaviṣya-p. it was an early work dealing with the duties of the Sauras. But unfortunately its title has not been included in any of the lists of Upapurānas known to us. Yet we have taken it to be an Upapurāna for two reasons. Firstly, it appears to have

1 See Bhav. I. 4. 87b-89—

astādaśa-purānāni rāmasya caritam tathā//
visnudharmādayo dharmāḥ śivadharmāś ca bhā ata//
kārsnam vedam pañcamam tu yan mahābhāratam smrtam//
saurā dharmāś ca rājendra nāradoktā mahipate/
jayeti nāma etesām pravadanti manisinaḥ //

(The printed ed wrongly reads 'śrautāḥ' for 'saurāḥ' in the fourth line. Cf. Bhav. I. 216. 36-37 quoted on p. 113 above).

The above verses, as quoted in Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru (I, p. 25), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (II. 1, pp. 19-20), Candēśvara's Kṛtya-rātnākara (p. 30), Raghuṇandana's Smṛti-tattva (I, p. 71), Narasiṃha Vājāpeyī's Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, p. 22), and Mitra Miśra's Viramītrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa (p. 17), read the second line as 'visnudharmādi śāstrāni śivadharmāś ca bhārata' and the fourth line as 'saurāś ca dharmā rājendra mānavoktā mahipate'

had the form and contents of a Purāṇic work; and secondly, the Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara, Śivadharmā and Śivadharmottara have been regarded as minor Purāṇas by various authorities.

The Sauradharmā has been drawn upon in Ananta-bhaṭṭa's Vidhūna-pārijāta (II, p. 696), Gadādhara's Kālasāra (p. 129), Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's Haribhakti-vilāsa (p. 773), Gaṇapati's Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī (fols. 30b and 31a-b), Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva (I, p. 142, and II, pp. 41 and 48), Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi's Kṛtya-tattvārṇava (fols. 77b-78a), Vācaspati-miśra's Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi (p. 2), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (II, i, p. 1000, II, ii, pp. 552-7, and III, ii, pp. 114, 150, 179), Sūlapāṇi's Vrata-kāla-viveka (p. 18), and in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa (fol. 39a). So, this work cannot be dated later than 1000 A.D. We shall see below that the Sauradharmottara, which must have been written later than the Sauradharmā, preceded Jīmūtavāhana by a few centuries. Hence *the Sauradharmā must have been written earlier than 800 A. D.*

We cannot push the above date farther up, because we are not sure that the Sauradharmā, drawn upon by the Smṛti-writers, was the same as the 'Saura Dharma' mentioned in Bhav. I.4.89 and I. 216, 37. Some of the verses, ascribed to the Sauradharmā in the Smṛti Nibandhas, show that in this work, as known to the Smṛti-writers, Vasiṣṭha spoke to king Māndhātṛ at least in some of its parts, but according to the Bhaviṣya-p. Nārada (or Mānava) spoke out the 'Saura Dharmas' or 'the (religious) duties of the Sun-worshippers'.²

As the Viṣṇudharma and the Śivadharmā, mentioned in the Bhaviṣya-p., belonged to the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas respectively, there can be little doubt about the fact that the 'Saura Dharma', known to the Bhaviṣya, must have dealt principally, if not entirely, with the duties of the Sun-worshippers. From the evidence of the quoted verses also we understand that the Sauradharmā, as known to the Smṛti-writers, was a work of the Sauras and that at least in some parts of this work Sūta reported what he had heard from Vyāsa on the interlocution between Vasiṣṭha and Māndhātṛ. Most of these quoted.

² For the relevant verses of the Bhaviṣya-p. see the immediately preceding foot-note and also p. 113 above.

verses relate to fasting on the Ekādaśī Tithi, two to the religious duties in the month of Māgha (māgha-kṛtyāni), and one to the eatables in the Kāmya-vrata; and there is one long extract, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 552-7, which deals with the Sūrya-vrata to be performed every month from Mārgaśīrṣa by placing a golden image of the Sun in a silver chariot. In the verses ascribed to the Sauradharmā in the Vidhāna-pārijāta and the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi there is mention of the Tulavī plant, of which three leaves are to be eaten up by the persons observing the Kāmya-vrata and the Sūrya-vrata every month from Mārgaśīrṣa.

2. THE SAURADHARMOTTARA

This work also, like the Sauradharmā mentioned above, should be regarded as an Upapurāṇa, although no writer has called it so. It has been drawn upon in Gopāla bhattacharya's Haribhakti vilāsa (pp. 776, 808), Raghunandana's Smṛti ratna (II, p. 50), Candēśvara's Tithi nirṇaya (fols. 12a, 13a, 13b), Hemādri's Caturvarga cintāmaṇi (III, ii, p. 249) and Jīnūtavāhana's Kālavivēka (pp. 432-3, 443, 444, 447). So, it must have been written not later than 900 A. D.

The Sauradharmottara does not seem to have been rich in Smṛti materials. Only a few verses have been quoted from it in the Smṛti works, and all these verses relate to Ekādaśī-upavāsa.

3. THE SŪRYA-PURĀṆA

In his Tithi-nirṇaya (fol. 2a) Candēśvara quotes a verse (saṅkṛāntyām ravi-vāre ca tathā cendu-pṛiksaye, etc.), which he ascribes to the 'Sūrya-purāṇa'; Weber describes a Ms of the 'Kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-śrāddha-vidhi' which claims to belong to the 'Sūrya-purāṇa'; and in the Berlin Ms of the Bhavisyottara there is a chapter on Putra-lāma kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-vrata which, in its colophon, names the 'Sūrya-purāṇa' as its source.³ As neither the said verse quoted by Candēśvara nor the chapters on Kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-śrāddha-vidhi and Putra-kāma-

3 See Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, No. 1127, p. 325 (colophon—iti sūrya-purāṇe kṛṣṇa-pañcamī śrāddha-vidhiḥ samāptah).

4 Ibid., No. 468, p. 135 (see the colophon of chap. 50).

kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-vrata occur in the present Sāmba-p. and as no other writer is found to refer to or draw upon the Sāmba-p. under the title 'Sūrya-p.', there is little scope for doubt that the Sūrya-p. was a distinct work. Its title as well as its mention in the Bhaviṣya-p. as the source of the said chapter on Putra-kāma-kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-vrata shows that the Sūrya p. belonged to the Sauras and was an early work. But unfortunately none of its Mss has come down to us.

According to D. R. Bhandarkar, a Sūrya-p. quite distinct from the Bhaviṣya-p. is known to the Brahmins, called Sevaks, living round about Jodhpur.⁵ As no Ms of this work is known to have been discovered as yet, we are in complete darkness about its nature and contents. The fact that the Sevaks, who call themselves Śākadvīpa Brāhmaṇas, 'know that their story is told in the Nāmagrantha of the Sūrya-purāṇa and also in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa', shows clearly that this Sūrya-p. was a Saura work. It may be mentioned in this connection that in his Tithi-nirṇaya Caṇḍeśvara quotes a few verses by expressly naming the Bhaviṣya-p. as their source and that the verse of the 'Sūrya-p.' quoted in Caṇḍeśvara's Tithi-nirṇaya occurs neither in the present Bhaviṣya-p. nor in the Bhaviṣyottara.

(B)

1. THE ĀDI-PURĀṆA

This work, which was also called Ādya-purāṇa, Sanatkumāra, Sānatkumāra, Sanatkumārīya, Sanatkumārokti and Sanatkumāra-prokta, was quite distinct from the present Ādi-p. published from Calcutta (with a Bengali translation) by Navīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā in 1891 and from Bombay by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press in Śaka 1829 and preserved in Mss in all parts of India. It occupied a very exalted position among the Upapurāṇas and was a Vaiṣṇava work composed between 500 and 700 A.D. and probably during the sixth century.

For full information about this work see under 'Ādi-p.' in Chap. IV above.

⁵ See p. 100 above. Also Ep. Ind., IX, p. 279.

2. THE ĀNGIRASA-UPAPURĀNA

The title of this work is found included in none of the lists of eighteen Upapurānas except that given in the Ekāmra-p.,⁶ nor does any comparatively early Smṛti-writer, except Gopāla-bhaṭṭa, draw upon or refer to it in his work. The only verse,⁷ which Gopāla-bhaṭṭa quotes from it in his Haribhakti-vilāsa, p 677, says that if, being afraid of rebirths, any one pronounces the name 'Vāsudeva', he is sure to become free from these and attain the region of Viṣṇu.

The title of this work and the quoted verse mentioned above indicate that this Upapurāna was narrated by the sage Āṅgiras and that it dealt primarily with the praise of Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva.

Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's quotation from this Upapurāna and the mention of its title in the Ekāmra-p.⁸ (which is drawn upon by Gadādhara in his Kālasāra and mentioned in the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Bengal Śiva-p.⁹) show that it was *written earlier than 1000 A.D.*, most probably in Western Bengal or Orissa. But as it is not mentioned in any other list of eighteen Upapurānas, and as none of the comparatively early Nibandha-writers is found to draw upon or refer to this work, it *must have been composed at a date not much earlier than 900 A.D.*

3. THE BRHAD-VĀMANA-PURĀNA

A 'Vāmana' Upapurāna is mentioned in some of the lists of Upapurānas, but there is not a single list which mentions the Bṛhad-vāmana-purāna. None of the comparatively early authors is found to draw upon or refer to this work. It is only in the Laghu-bhāgavata-tāmṛta that six verses have been ascribed to the 'Bṛhad-vāmana'. In the first of these quoted verses Kṛṣṇa refers to his indescribable mental

6 For this list see Chap. I (p. 13) above.

7 vāsudeveta manuṣa uccārya bhava-bhītatah/
tanmuktah padam āpnoti viṣṇor eva na saṁśayah//

8.9 The periods of composition of these works will be discussed fully in Vol. III of the present work.

condition at the remembrance of his Rāsa-līlā¹⁰, and in the remaining five, Brahmā speaks to 'Bhṛgu and others' on the glory of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, for the dusts of whose feet Brahmā practised austerities for sixty thousand years.¹¹ From these quoted verses we understand that this Upapurāṇa was a Vaiṣṇava work and dealt primarily with the sports of the cowherd Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana.

As the present Vāmana-p. does not contain any of these quoted verses or deal with any topic connected with the cowherd Kṛṣṇa, it cannot be the same as the Bṛhad-vāmana. The Vāmana-upapurāṇa also, if there were any Upapurāṇa of this title, must have been different from *the Bṛhad-vāmana*. The latter, as evidenced by its non-mention in any comparatively early work, *must have been written at a late date*.

4. THE BṚHAD-VIṢṆUDHARMA

This work has not been mentioned in any of the lists known to us, but about eight verses have been quoted from it in Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, p. 460. As in his Kālaviveka Jīmūtavāhana has drawn upon the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta also, the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma must be a separate work. It must have been based

- 10 Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, p. 173 (I, No 531)—
śrī-brhad-vāmane—

santi yady api me prājyā līlās tās tā manoharāḥ/
na hi jāne smṛte rāse mano me kīdrśam bhavet//

- 11 Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, p. 182 (II, Nos 31-32)—
śrībrhadvāmane ca bhṛgvādin prati śrībrahma vākyam—
saṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi mayā taptam tapah putā/
nanda-gopa-vraja-strīṇām pāda-renūpalabdhaye//
tathāpi na mayā prāptās tāsām vai pāda-reṇavah//
bhṛgvādi-vākyam—

vaiṣṇavānām pāda-rajo gṛhyate tvad-vidhair api/
santi te bahavo loke vaiṣṇavā nāradādayaḥ//
tesām vibhāya gopīnām pāda-renus tvayāpi yat/
gṛhyate samśayo me 'tra ko hetus tad vada prabho//

śrībrahma-vākyam—

na strīyo vraja-sundaryaḥ putra śreṣṭhāḥ strīyo 'pi tāḥ/
nāham śivaś ca śeṣaś ca śrīś ca tābhiḥ samāḥ kvacit//

on the Viṣṇudharmottara, because the verses, quoted from it in the Kālaviveka, agree with Viṣṇudharmottara I. 161. 1-8 and have Mārkaṇḍeya and a king (Vajra?) as the interlocutors.

Jīmūtavāhana's quotations from *the Brhad-viṣṇudharma* show that it *must have been written not later than 900 A.D.* As it was based on the Viṣṇudharmottara, it *cannot be dated earlier than 600 A.D.*

5 THE BRHAD-VIṢṆU-PURĀNA

This work is mentioned as 'Brhad-vaishnava' in the list of Upapurāṇas given in the Ekāmra-p.¹² and is drawn upon under the title 'Brhad-ṣṣṇu-purāna' in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (III. 1, pp. 704, 711, 726-7), Haribhakti-vilāsa (pp. 449, 495, 658, 661, 685), (Gopālabhaṭṭa's) Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā (pp. 45, 46, 98, 108), (Sanātana Gosvāmin's commentaries) Brhat-toṣinī and Vaiṣṇava-toṣinī^{12a} (on Bhāg. X. 21. 10), (Sanātana-Gosvāmin's) Laghubhāgavatāmṛta (p. 147—I, No. 397, and pp. 163-4—I, No. 471), and (Ratnākara Miśra's) Prāyaścitta-sāra-saṃgraha¹³. In the Laghubhāgavatāmṛta this Upapurāṇa is also named as 'Brhad-vaishnava'.

Hemādri's knowledge of *the Brhad-ṣṇu-p.* shows that this work *must have been written not later than 1000 A.D.* We do not know whether this Brhad-ṣṇu-p. was the same as the spurious 'Vaiṣṇava Purāna' known to Vallālasena.¹⁴ This 'Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa' contained 23000 verses and was, therefore, an extensive (brhat) work.

The Brhad-ṣṇu-p. was undoubtedly a Vaiṣṇava work dealing with

12 For this list see Chap. I (p. 13) above

12a. Ascribed to Jīva Gosvāmin in Nityasvarūpa Brahmācārī's edition of the Bhāgavarata-p.

13 Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p 579, No 2530 (Ms No. 8520). The Ms is dated 1661 Śaka.

14 Dānasāgara, p 7 (verses 63-66)—

tārksyam purānam aparam brāhman āgneyam eva ca/
trayaviṃśati-sāhasram purānam api vaiṣṇavam//
sat-sahasra mitam lingam purānam aparam tathā/
dīksā-pratiṣṭhā-pāsandayukti-ratnaparīksanaiḥ//
mrsā-vamśānucaritaiḥ kosa-vyākaranādibhiḥ/
asangata-kathābandha-paraspara-virodhataḥ//
tan-minaketanādīnām bhanda-pāsanda-linginām/
loka-vañcanam ālokyā sarvam evāvadhīritam//

the praise and worship of Viṣṇu. In his *Haribhakti-vilāsa* Gopāla-bhaṭṭa quotes from this work seven verses which say that the water, which is placed before the eyes of Keśava and is mixed with Tulasī leaves, or with which the Sālagrāma stone has been bathed, is extremely sanctifying,¹⁵ that no twice-born man should hesitate to partake of the food and drink offered to Viṣṇu, because such food and drink are never affected by anybody's touch,¹⁶ that the mention of Viṣṇu's name is highly sanctifying and beneficial and is able to destroy much more sin than a sinner can commit,¹⁷ and that the muttering of the word 'vāsudeva' can give one final emancipation.¹⁸ In the *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta* Viṣṇu is called 'nityāvatāra', 'nitya-mūrti', 'nitya-rūpa', 'nityaiśvarya-sukhānubhū' etc. and Kṛṣṇa's exploits at Vraja are said

15 *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, p. 449—

brhad-viṣṇu-purāṇe—

'tūthādḥikam yajña-śatāc ca pāvanam
jalam sadā keśava-drṣṭi-samsthitam/
chinatti pāpam tulasī-vimīśritam
viśesataś cakra-śilā-vinirmitam//'

16 *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, p. 495—

brhad-viṣṇu-purāṇe—

'naivedyam jagadīśasya anna-pānādikam ca yat/
bhaksyābhaksya-vicāraś ca nāsti tad-bhaksṇe dvijāh//
brahmavan nirvikāram hi yathā viṣṇus tathaiva tat/
vikāram ye prakurvanti bhaksṇe tad dvijātayah//
kuṣṭha-vyādhi-samāyuktāḥ putra-dāra-vivarjitāḥ/
nirayam yānti te viprā yasmān nāvartate punah//

17 *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, p. 661—

sarva-rogoपाśamanam sarvopadrava-nāśanam/
śāntidam sarva-riṣṭāṇām harer nāmānukirtanam//

Ibid., p. 658—

nāmno 'sya yāvatī śaktiḥ pāpa-nirharṇe hareh/
tāvat kartum na śaknoti pātakam pātakī janah//

With this second verse the following Bengali saying may be compared:—

एकवार रामनामे यत पाप हरे ।

जोवेर कि साध्य आछे तत पाप करे ॥

18 *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, p. 685— ... kva japo vāsudevati mukti-bijam
anuttamam.

to have been described elaborately in the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa*.¹⁹ According to the verse²⁰ quoted from the 'Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa' in Sanātana Gosvāmin's commentaries *Brhat-toṣinī* and *Vaiṣṇava-toṣinī* (on *Bhāg.* X. 21. 10), Nanda's wife had two names, Yaśodā and Devakī, and it was for this reason that she had friendship with Devakī, wife of Śauri (Vasudeva). That the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.* dealt also with penance, funeral ceremony etc., is evidenced by its verses quoted in the *Prāyaścitta-sāra-saṃgraha* and the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*. Of these two works the latter has 30 metrical lines on gifts of umbrellas, chowries, mirrors, combs, young cows with calves, female buffaloes, bulls, camels, goats, sheep etc. to the departed forefathers, the recipients of all these gifts being the Brahmins.²¹ In the *Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā* (pp. 45, 46, 98, 108) five verses have been ascribed to the 'Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa'. In one of these verses the Sātvatas have been advised neither to worship the Pitr̥s and the gods other than Viṣṇu nor to do any other *kāmya karman*;²² one verse prescribes the worship of the gods and Pitr̥s to those persons who are not Sātvatas; in one verse the sanctifying power of the *Cāndrāyana-vrata* and the *Dvādaśa-vārṣika-vrata* has been put forth; and in the remaining two, Viṣṇu has been described as the cause of all kinds of bliss. It is to be noted that in the verse ascribed to the 'Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.' in *Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā*, p. 46, the word 'rājendra' has been used in the Vocative Case and that in explaining this verse Gopāla-bhaṭṭa takes this word to mean 'Yudhiṣṭhira'. So, in the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-p.* somebody spoke to Yudhiṣṭhira on the topics mentioned above.

In his *Notices of Sanskrit Mss*, II, pp. 68-69 (No. 635) R. L. Mitra describes a Ms of the *Karma-vipāka* which, in its colophon,

19 *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, p. 147 (I, No. 397), and pp. 163-164 (I, No. 471-*śrībrhad vaisnave—vraje dvāravatīsthasya prādurbhāvo mura-dviṣah/ brhadviṣṇu-purāṇādāv asakrd bahudhocyate//*).

20 dve nāmnī nanda-bhāryāyā yaśodā devakīty api/
atah sakhyam abhūt tasyā devakyā śauri-bhāryayā//

21 *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, III, 1, pp. 704, 711, 726-7.

22 *Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā*, p. 45—

na darbha-dhāraṇam kuryāt na ca saṃkalpam ācaret/
na kāmyam sātvato mārgam śaṃbhu-devādi-pūjanam//

claims to be an extract from the Bhṛgu-saṃhitā belonging to the Bṛhad-
viṣṇu-p. The date of this Ms is 1687 Śaka (= 1765 A. D.), and in
it Bhṛgu speaks to Bharata, son of Śakuntalā, on the diseases and other
evils resulting in this life from sins committed in a previous one, as
well as on the expiations meet for their removal.

6. THE BRHANNARASIMHA-PURĀṆA

We have said above²³ that the Ekāmra-p. clearly distinguishes
between the 'Nārasimha' and the 'Bṛhannārasimha' by including the
former among the principal Purāṇas and the latter among the Upa-
purāṇas. In his Haribhakti-vilāsa Gopālabhaṭṭa is found to ascribe
about a century of verses to the Narasimha-p. and 63 verses (on Nara-
simha-caturdaśī-vrata) to the Bṛhannarasimha-p. So, according to
Gopāla-bhaṭṭa also, the Bṛhannarasimha-p. was distinct from the
Narasimha-p. But as the 63 verses, quoted by Gopālabhaṭṭa from the
'Bṛhannarasimha-p.', have been ascribed to the 'Narasimha-p.' in
Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 41-49, it is probable that
either Hemādri took these two Purāṇic works to be identical, or the
extract on the Narasimha-caturdaśī-vrata occurred in both these works.
It should be mentioned here that none of the 63 verses, mentioned
above, is found in the present text of the Narasimha-p.

*As the Bṛhannarasimha-p. is mentioned in the Ekāmra-p., it must
be dated earlier than the eleventh century A.D.*

7. THE DAURVĀSASA-UPAPURĀṆA (alias ĀŚCARYA-UPAPURĀṆA?)

This work is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas except those
contained in the Ekāmra-p. and the Bṛhaddharma-p.²⁴ In some of
these lists it is named as 'Durvāśasokta'; the Saura-saṃhitā of the
Skanda-p. calls it 'Durvāśaḥ-saṃprokta'; and Narasimha Vājapeyīn
names it as 'Durvāśaḥ-purāṇa'. In the lists of Upapurāṇas contained
in the Kūrma-p., Garuḍa-p., and Skanda-p. VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa) as
well as in those lists which are ascribed to the Kūrma-p. in the
Malamāsa-tattva, Vīramitrodaya, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and Śabda-
kalpadruma, this Upapurāṇa is described as 'durvāśasoktam āścaryam.'

23 See Chap III (under Narasimha-p.) above.

24 For these lists see Chap. I above.

We are not sure whether the word 'āścarya' is the title of the Upapurāṇa 'narrated by Durvāsas', or it is merely an adjective denoting the nature of this Upapurāṇa. Rādhāramaṇa Gosvāmī-bhaṭṭācārya, in his commentary on the Malamāsa-tattva, takes the word 'āścarya' to be the title of the Upapurāṇa 'narrated by Durvāsas'.²⁵

According to the Revā-khaṇḍa (of the Skanda-p.) and the Revā-māhātmya the 'Daurvāsasa' Upapurāṇa belonged to the 'Bhāgavata' Purāṇa.²⁶ So, this Upapurāṇa must have been a work of the Vaiṣṇavas.

The mention of this Upapurāṇa in all the comparatively early lists of Upapurāṇas shows that it *must have been written before 800 A.D.* and that it attained great popularity at an early date. As no Ms of this Upapurāṇa or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. claiming to belong to it, has been discovered as yet, and as none of the commentators and Nibandha-writers is found to draw upon or refer to this work, it is not possible to say anything about its contents. It seems that this work became extinct even before the tenth century A. D.

8. THE KAUSIKA- (OR KAUSIKI-) PURĀNA

This work has been mentioned in Bhavānanda's Hari-vamśa²⁷, a popular work composed in Bengali verses in the district of Sylhet or Tipperah some time between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. According to Bhavānanda, the Kausika-p. (also called Kauṣikī-p. in some of the Mss of the Hari-vamśa)²⁸ contained the following story.²⁹

When descending to the earth with the purpose of relieving her of her burden, god Nārāyaṇa asked Garuḍa which form he would assume to accompany him to the land of mortals. Garuḍa was not willing to change his form during such a dangerous period. So, he assured

25 Malamāsa-tattva (ed. Candīcarana Smṛtibhūṣana), p. 213—āścaryam āścaryākhyam.

26 daurvāsasaṃ pañcamam ca smṛtam bhāgavate sadā,—Skanda-p., V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1. 49b, and Revā-māhātmya (as described by Aufrecht in his Bod. Cat., p. 65).

27 See Hari-vamśa, p. 186 (line 7966) and p. 187 (line 7992).

28 Ibid., p. 187, foot-note 15.

29 Ibid., pp. 184-187 (lines 7901-7992).

Nārāyaṇa that he would present himself to serve as a mount as soon as Nārāyaṇa would remember him in times of his need. But Nārāyaṇa did not like to remain separated from Garuḍa for a long time. He said to Garuḍa:

“Hear, Oh eater of snakes, hear now the wish of my heart. When I shall be passing some time at Gokula as a child, a part of yours will remain with me. You will be born as a cuckoo, [and] I shall constantly hear [your] high, sweet note. When, after my killing of Kāṁsa by going to Mathurā, king Jarāsandha will challenge me to war, I shall remember you on that very day. As you do not agree to accompany me by forsaking this body [of yours], the cuckoo will give up its life without finding me, and all its energy and strength will pass into you”.

Now, Nārāyaṇa was born on earth as Kṛṣṇa, and a part of Garuḍa became a cuckoo. In course of time, when Kṛṣṇa was away in Mathurā and Rādhā was pining for him, the cuckoo, being unable to bear his separation, searched for him in all possible places and at last went to Rādhā's house with the hope of finding him there. But dire disappointment was in store for the cuckoo. It gave up its life as a result of the rude shock, and its soul passed to Vaikunṭha and entered the body of Garuḍa.

From the mention of Rādhā in the above story as given by Bhavānanda it appears that the Kauṣika- (or Kauṣikī-) purāṇa, known to him, was a Vaiṣṇava work written at a comparatively late period. The total absence of any mention of this Purāṇa in any work other than Bhavānanda's Hari-vaṁśa shows that it was a work of local origin and highly limited recognition.

9. THE LAGHU-BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA

It is only the Ekāmra-p. which includes the name of this work in its list of Upapurāṇas. In his Haribhakti-vilāsa (pp. 657, 660, 667, 685) Gopāla-bhaṭṭa quotes from this work six verses on the praise of pronouncing the name of Govinda (or Hari). So, this work must have been written in Western Bengal or Orissa not later than 1000 A.D. but most probably not before 800 A.D. Its title as well as the quoted verses shows that it was a work of the Vaiṣṇavas. In

the verse from it in *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, p. 685 the word 'nṛpa' has been used in the Vocative Case. So, in this Upapurāna somebody, whose name is unknown to us, spoke to a king (whose name also we do not know) on the benefits of pronouncing the name of Hari.

10. THE MĀGHA-PURĀNA

A Purāṇic work of this name has been mentioned in the colophon of a Ms of the *Bāla-gopāla-stuti* ascribed to 'Śrī-paramahansa-parivrājaka-śrīpāda-Bilvamangala'.³⁰ The words 'iti māgha-purāṇe bhagavad-vākyam', used in this colophon, tend to indicate that the Māgha-p. had the Bhagavat (Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa) as one of its speakers. As we have not yet met with any second mention of this Purāna anywhere, we are in complete darkness about its nature and contents and do not know whether it was the same as the "Māgha-smṛti" mentioned by Jīva Gosvāmin in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-p.* It is, however, sure that this Magha-p. is not the same as the Māgha-māhātmya belonging to the *Padma-p.*, *Uttara-khaṇḍa*.

11. THE PRABHĀSA-PURĀNA

This Upapurāna is mentioned as 'Prabhāsaka' in the list of Upapurānas contained in the *Ekāmra-p.*; and from this work Sanātana Gosvāmin quotes one metrical line on the praise of the name of Kṛṣṇa in his commentary *Vaiṣṇava-toṣinī*,³¹ and Gopāla-bhaṭṭa has a complete verse on the same topic in his *Haribhakti-vilāsa*.³² So, this Prabhāsa-p. must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D. Its non-mention in the other lists shows that it was a comparatively late work.

From the title of this Upapurāna as well as from Sanātana Gosvāmin

30 For information about this Ms see O. C. Ganguly in *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, 1932, pp. 285-9.

31 See *Vaiṣṇava-toṣinī* on *Bhāg.* X. 8, 13—

uktam ca prabhāsa-purāṇe—

madhura-madhuram etan mangalam mangalānām / /

32 *Haribhakti vilāsa*, p. 689—

prabhāsa-purāṇe nārada-kuśadhvaja-samvāde śrībhagavad-uktau—

nāmnām mukhyataram nāma kṛṣṇākhyam me paramtapa /

prāyaścittam aśeśānām pāpānām mocakam param / /

and Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's quotations from this work we understand that it was a Vaiṣṇava work dealing with the praise of Kṛṣṇa and Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and that in it Nārada narrated to (king) Kuśadhvaṇa what he had heard from Kṛṣṇa. Beyond this we have got no further information about this Upapurāṇa.

The Prabhāsa-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p. In the latter work, the lines, ascribed by Sanātana Gosvāmin and Gopāla-bhaṭṭa to the 'Prabhāsa-purāṇa', are not found, nor is there any interlocution between Nārada and Kuśadhvaṇa.

12. THE VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARĀMṚTA

The name of this work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas known to us, nor is it referred to or drawn upon in any work except Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, which has two verses³³ from it on p. 464. The absence of these two quoted verses in the Viṣṇudharmottara, shows that the Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta was a separate work; but its title indicates that it was based on the Viṣṇudharmottara.

The Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta must have been written later than the Viṣṇudharmottara but a few centuries earlier than Jīmūtavāhana. Hence it is to be dated between 600 and 900 A. D.

13. THE VRDDHA-PADMA-PURĀṆA

This work has been mentioned as 'Vṛddha-pādma' in Śrī-anantācārya's Prapannāmṛta.³⁴ According to Śrī-anantācārya, this 'Vṛddha-pādma' contained stories about Rāmānuja and the Alvar saints of Southern Indian. So, it seems to have been a late work. It is neither mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas nor referred to or drawn upon by any of the Smṛti-writers, early or late.

33 These two verses are the following:

dvādaśī sravanā-yuktā sprśed ekādaśīm yadi/
sa eva vaiṣṇavo yogo viṣṇu-śṛṅkhala-samjñitah//
tasminn uposya vidhivan narah saṅkīrṇa-kalmaṣah/
prāpnoty anuttamām rddhiṁ punar-āvṛtti-durlabham//

34 Prapannāmṛta (Venkat. ed), chap. 73, verses 24-29, and chap. 75, verses 5-6.

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